

SOCIETY FACES THE FUTURE

BY

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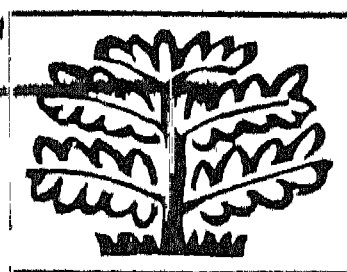
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FOREWORD

Sociology is a new course for high school students which has already won a secure place. It is steadily gaining in importance as students discover how fascinating and how practical the study of society can be.

The objectives in teaching sociology are being clarified in the light of the experience of hundreds of high school teachers. Dr. Edgar B. Wesley has compiled what is probably the best statement of objectives to date:

1. To understand the nature of group life
2. To understand the influence of heredity and environment
3. To see the advantages of social co-operation over social conflict
4. To gain an insight into the nature and causes of social problems
5. To develop a toleration for the members of other groups
6. To see how government can affect social life
7. To evaluate proposed reforms and schemes
8. To identify our major social problems
9. To understand some of the forces which motivate individuals and groups

There are still very few textbooks in sociology for high school. To keep this book from being abstract and philosophical, it has been the aim of the author of *Society Faces the Future* to supply concrete illustrations and actual information.

The materials in Unit III, The Amazing Adaptability of Human Nature, and in Unit IV, Making the Most of the Biological Heritage, will especially appeal to adolescents, who are always keenly interested in the workings of the human personality. These units will not be fully comprehended when they are first taken up; they should be referred to again and again throughout the course, until the students have learned to analyze social problems in terms of their effects on human nature. In the end, the students should be able to re-read these units and discover new meaning as evidence of their own growth.

The questions on the text which follow every chapter are intended as guides in reading and comprehending. Probably most teachers will go over them with the class (after the students have read the chapter) while the books are open. As much time as possible should be given to class discussion and

to activities, such as special reports and field trips which will illuminate the necessarily brief content of the textbook. Where a full year is given to the course, numerous activities will suggest themselves. Students should be encouraged to read other books, that they may not be limited to any one point of view. In connection with such timely problems as housing, neutrality legislation, and farm tenancy, the textbook should be freely supplemented with clippings from current newspapers and periodicals. Above all, students of social relations should be growing in ability to manage their own social relationships with ease and confidence. The sociology teacher will seize every opportunity to give to students a share in planning and enriching the course. If the students develop the desire, the initiative, and the responsibility required for carrying out some project of benefit to their community, the teacher will have reason to feel that the course has been successfully taught. That fine book, *Youth Serves the Community*, by Paul R. Hanna, gives many examples of useful community work planned and completed by groups of young people. It is in genuine work of this sort that students grow in power to control their own experiences, which is the aim of education.

RUTH WOOD GAVIAN

TO THE STUDENT

Why should you give your time to this relatively young science, sociology, which has elbowed in among the older courses of the high school? Are you sure that you want sociology rather than typewriting, history, or a foreign language?

Why, in fact, do we study? We study because older people wish us to, because others are doing it, and because getting an education is the great American ambition. *But the real purpose of study is to gain control of our experiences.*

We study sociology that we may learn how to improve the social arrangements under which we live. We shall have to begin where we are, with those arrangements that we individually have a large share in making — our family life, our play groups, clubs, school, church, and other primary or face-to-face relationships. We should also like to help shape the wider social arrangements — the institutions of government and of the economic system that in considerable measure determine whether we shall be able to earn a decent living and establish a home. Sociology is the science of social relationships. It ought to help us to work toward improving all social arrangements, those which we can control directly and those which we can help control through public opinion and public action.

What shall we need in order to begin making a better society where we are? First, we must have a clear understanding of the human being — his feelings, ideas, and ideals — and what are his most satisfying experiences in work, play, family life, worship, and as a member of the community. We shall want to know what produces the differences between individuals. To what extent are human strength and frailty due to hereditary factors and how much to environment? Then we must seek a clear picture of the relations between individuals and society. Does a man have more than one personality, according to the group in which he happens to be? What is conscience, and why are not all persons conscientious? Why do individuals, insecure or out of harmony with their groups, frequently become unbalanced? What is the social origin of nervousness, insanity, antisocial conduct, and delinquency? Can the maladjusted individual be restored as a useful member of the community? How can we get along with those who are badly adjusted, particularly in our own families? How can we ourselves become better adjusted to society? Unless we

are reasonably well adjusted, as shown by the ability to get along with others with a minimum of friction, we can do little to improve society.

Sociology is also deeply concerned with the broad relations of individuals and society. Why is our economic machinery so out of gear? Why do nations establish governments, and what is a government's proper sphere? What shall we need as citizens eager to play an active part in a democratic society, to make it more democratic and to assure its continuance?

First, we shall need the experimental attitude. To social problems no final answers are known. We judge proposed solutions by the way they work — the test being the greatest good to the greatest number. We need to cultivate an open mind, to study all proposals seriously put forward for advancing social welfare.

Each generation has to refine the institutions handed down from the past, altering them as may be necessary to meet new conditions. If social change is to be orderly, it must come about by general consent. It is therefore necessary that we understand the machinery for changing public opinion. We ought to learn the difference between education, which helps people discover and achieve their own purposes, and propaganda that would make use of them as tools for others. Thus we shall be able to take an intelligent part in the opinion-making process.

How shall we study sociology? *Eagerly*, because it promises to throw light on our personal problems of social relationship. *Conscientiously*, that we may learn to apply scientific knowledge in improving the relations of classes, nationalities, races. *Objectively*, that we may escape our prejudices and fairly evaluate the existing social arrangements and others that might be adopted. *Continually*, for sociology is not confined to books and statistical laboratories, but illuminates all our experiences with people, and all the political, economic, and social changes that are going on everywhere.

RUTH WOOD GAVIAN

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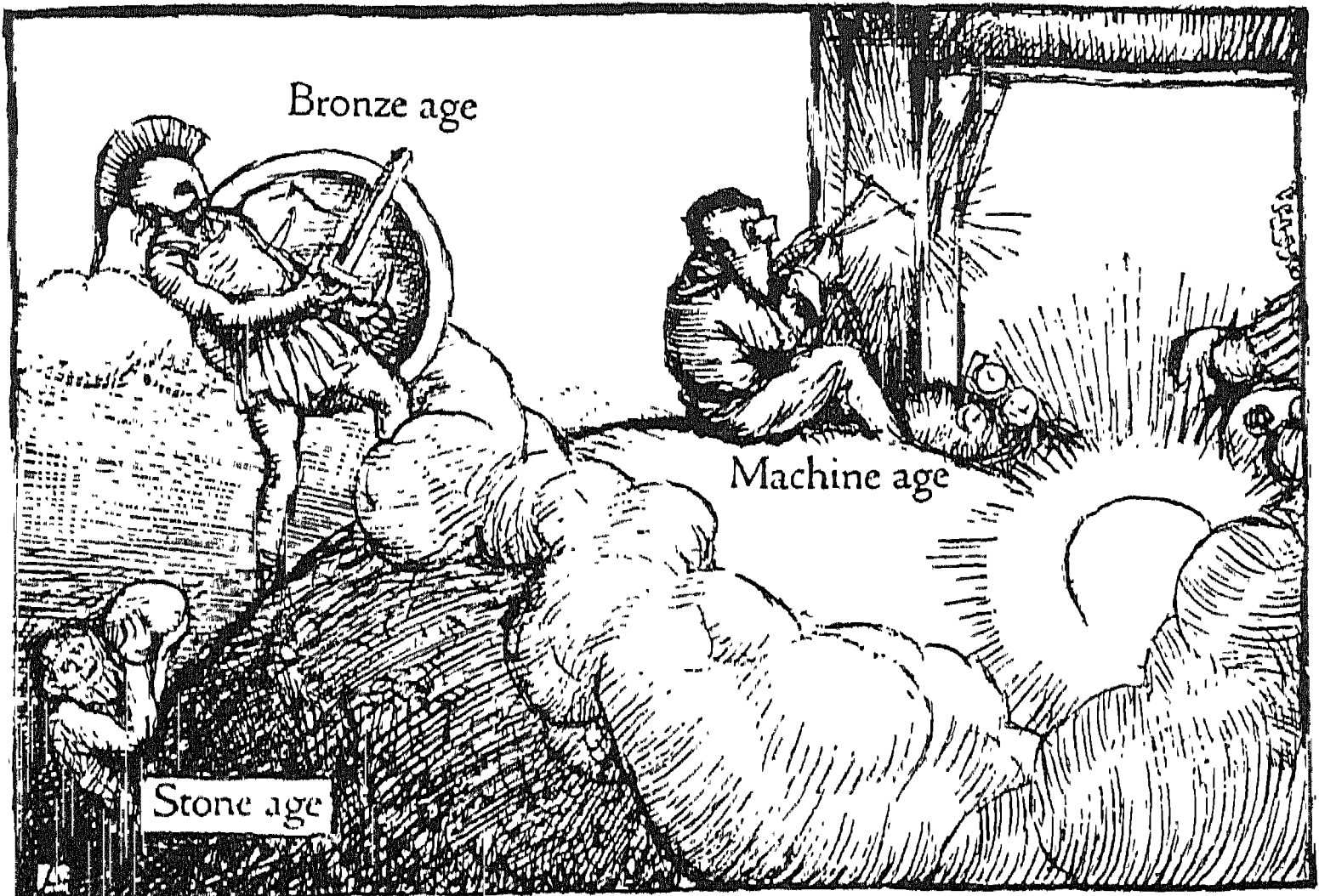
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UNIT



THE SOCIAL HERITAGE AND HOW IT GROWS

CHAPTER I. THE SOCIAL HERITAGE. Sociology is the study of human associations in order to better them. Social progress a new concept. The social heritage consists of customs. Function of custom. Customs spread by diffusion. Cultural advance is measurable in terms of human welfare.

CHAPTER II. OUR LAGGING INSTITUTIONS. The material culture determines the non-material culture. What is meant by culture complex. Our society consists of many culture complexes. Institutions — how they grow and change. Cultural lag — the product of conservatism, vested interest, and public indifference. Why institutions are constantly in process of change.

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL HERITAGE

What is sociology?

What is the social heritage?

Why is custom often a tyrant?

Why are all cultures tending to become more alike?

What are the tests of true cultural advance?

TRIBES MAY COME and tribes may go but culture goes on forever.

CLARK WISSLER

What Is Society? A society is a group of individuals united in the pursuit of a common interest. The group may be small, as a single family, a club, or a village, or it may be large, as a city, a religious denomination, a national fraternal organization, or a state. Sometimes we use the word in a very wide sense, saying, "Society expects good behavior from us," and then we have in mind all the people who partake of our common culture. Philosophers frequently speak of the Great Society, as if it were all mankind, but they are thinking of some future time when all men will realize their common interests and learn to work together in furthering them. In this book the word "society" will generally mean the people of the United States, yet the United States is only part of a still greater society consisting of all the English-speaking peoples.

Each of us belongs to a number of societies. To some of these, such as our family, our school, our church, and our home town, we may be closely related by the sharing of many common interests. To others, such as our

political party, our labor union, our county, state, and nation, we may feel a less intimate connection.

A number of people walking on the street of a city, strangers to each other, and not aware of any interest in common, is not a society. But if an accident occurs and some of the people get together in an effort to do something to help, they are for the moment a society. A crowd watching a fire is not a society, but if some of the spectators co-operate with each other in keeping back the rest, or in giving aid to the firemen or to the victims, they are, through their interdependent activity, a society.

What Is Social Behavior? Whatever we do in co-operation with other people is undeniably social behavior. But most of our actions, such as the way in which we wear our clothes, and the way in which we eat our food, are done in a particular manner that we believe will be approved by those around us. These actions, too, are social. Only some act which is done without entering any relation with other people and without regard for the approval of others, may be considered as individual behavior. When a baby yawns this is an individual action, but when he grows up and covers his yawn with his hand, the action has become social. Indeed, there is very little of the behavior of an adult which may be regarded as strictly individual behavior. Nearly all of a grown person's conduct is social, and is therefore of interest to the student of society.

What Are the Social Sciences? The social sciences are concerned with society and how it has developed, and with social behavior. It is difficult to draw a sharp line between the various divisions of the social sciences. The same event may be considered by historians, political scientists, psychologists, economists, geographers, anthropologists, sociologists, and by philosophers who ponder its ethical and esthetic aspects.

Sociology is one of the newer branches of social science. It has to do with human associations. It is especially concerned with the institutions that shape men's association one with another. It is interested in the changes a community undergoes *as a whole*, and in the interrelationships of its economic, political, religious, and educational institutions. When, for instance, the sociologist considers an economic institution such as a bank, he is trying to find out how a given type of bank affects the total community activity and the social relations, morals, and values of the people of the community. When he considers sickness, heredity, unemployment, or war, he is trying to discover how these conditions affect human interaction and group life. Sociology asks, How do social structures start, develop, maintain themselves, and decline? What are the processes of social organization and disorganization?

Sociology includes many of the special social sciences, such as penology, politics, education, and economics. It investigates all those social relations which are too broad or deep or complex to lie within one of these special fields.

Why Do We Study Sociology? We study sociology because we hope that when we understand our social machinery and the complicated interdependence of its parts, we shall be better able to direct and control it. There is today a very widespread interest in all the social sciences. Our social order is so patently out of adjustment that every thoughtful person wants to know more about what has made it so and what can be done to improve it.

Sociology is not merely a descriptive science like botany, limited to the careful and exact and impersonal description of the phenomena with which it deals. Sociology not only describes but seeks to evaluate. Insofar as it is concerned with better and worse social arrangements, it is more than a science.



VOLTAIRE DISCOURSES ON SOCIETY

The New Idea of Progress. The idea that men can control the mechanisms of society — the structure of government, of industry, of commerce, of education, and of other institutions — is rather new in human history. It seems very natural to us, but most of our great-great-grandfathers would have thought it strange and even blasphemous. They believed that human beings are naturally sinful or depraved, that poverty, war, and other evils are due to this inner sinfulness of men, and that there is nothing to be done about it. In some parts of the world the notion prevails that the suffering of any individual in this life is a punishment for his wickedness in a previous existence; it is therefore quite useless to try to lessen his suffering. Through good conduct he may merit a happier lot in his next reincarnation. Fatalism, which accepts society as it is, with all its maladjustments, still has much influence in the world.

Two centuries ago a French philosopher, Abbé de Saint-Pierre, wrote a book entitled *Observations on the Continuous Progress of Universal Reason*. In this work was clearly presented for the first time the thought that civilization is in its infancy, with an immensely long, progressive life in front of it. By shaking off its useless traditions and by taking thought, said Saint-Pierre, humanity can improve its condition. The idea that men could better society by deliberate effort was taken up by the leading thinkers of France. Voltaire, Rousseau, and many others became absorbed with it. As they talked and wrote of the possibilities before mankind, they prepared the way for the French Revolution. Intellectual leaders in the American colonies also seized eagerly upon the idea of social progress consciously directed. They talked of methods for the abolition of poverty, the reform of criminal law, the care of the aged, the increase of human freedom, and the provision of universal education. Some of their schemes began to bear fruit during and after the American Revolution. The treatment of criminals was, for instance, improved by the abolition of the death penalty for scores of offenses. Free primary education was soon offered in every state, and religious and property restrictions on voting and holding public office were gradually removed. Some of their ideas, such as pensions for the aged, have only lately been put into practice. Others, like the reduction of armaments and the insuring of international peace, still await practical measures of fulfillment.

Men are learning that progress comes through the taking of many short steps, oftentimes experimentally, until it is learned what will take us farther along the road we want to go. The study of these social experiments and the attempt to suggest new procedures are two tasks of sociology.

Culture and the Social Heritage. Culture consists of

all the established ways of doing things, and of all knowledge, beliefs, language, organization, religion, and morals. Without language, culture does not exist, for culture is transmitted from one generation to the next not only by example but also, and chiefly, through speech.

Another name for culture is *social heritage*. It is a heritage which every child shares, whether he be poor or rich. It is not the same in every part of the world, nor even exactly the same in all sections of a country. The social heritage of the Kentucky mountain child is probably more like that of Elizabethan England than like that of modern New York, Chicago, or San Francisco. The social heritage into which a Negro baby in a Mississippi village is born differs at many points from that of a child born in a college town in Massachusetts.

It is culture and not race which makes a Frenchman seem so unlike a German or a Russian. It was culture and not capacity which made the American Indians different from the European colonists. Immigrant and racial groups who live in the United States exhibit various cultures, yet a baby from any one of them, if transferred at birth to a home of Americans of older stock, would grow up to think and act as do his foster-parents.

Every isolated group of people has its own culture. In modern America we have a great mingling of cultures, and as yet no uniform culture which embraces all our people. Our culture has come to us largely from Europe, particularly western Europe. Yet we are also indebted to the American Indians, to the Negroes, and to Oriental nations for many borrowed elements.

Customs or Cultural Patterns. Every culture is composed of innumerable elements known as customs, folkways, social habits, or cultural patterns. We may use these terms interchangeably to mean a habitual way of

thinking or acting that is common to the members of a given group.

Every individual is expected to conform to the customs of the people with whom he lives. If he was born into the group, its customs are as natural to him as breathing, and he does not think of acting in any other way. But if he has come into the group from a place where the cultural patterns are different, he will have a sorry time until he learns to conform to the ways of his new associates. They will laugh at him and call him "Hunky" or some other contemptuous name until he has made over his social habits. Some of the customs which he has brought with him may be better than those he is now obliged to learn; but even these will be ridiculed, for each group likes its own ways best and thinks itself superior to other groups.

Regardless of whether a given act can be done equally well in other ways, a group generally insists on following a particular method. This is because human beings like certainty and definiteness. Orderliness and harmony are sought by every society, and the easiest way to secure these is to require all the members to conform to the same social habits. In the United States much of our present felt disharmony is due to conflicting cultural patterns. So many different peoples have come to America, bringing with them their native folkways, symbols, values, and traditions, that we have no uniform culture which defines exactly how each of us shall act.

The Tyranny of Custom. In stable cultures custom is a tyrant which opposes experimentation with new ways. The old ways are so revered that they continue to be followed generation after generation. Thus, the typical village of eastern Europe lives almost the same today as it has lived for centuries. A curious instance of how tyrannical custom can be occurred in Russia after the Revolution. The peasants seized the big estates and

divided the lands into little strips, assigning to each farmer an equal number of scattered pieces, just as their village lands had been divided for many generations. Much time was lost in traveling from one piece to another; sometimes half a man's day was thus wasted. Modern methods of tillage and modern tools could not be adopted on these tiny patches of land. Yet the method persisted because it had been traditional for centuries. The central government had to take strong measures before this antiquated procedure was abandoned. Many villages bitterly objected to the new method of collective farming on undivided fields.

In our society custom is seldom so tyrannical. Yet we cherish some customs which have little or no rational purpose. The needless buttons on our coats, the lack of variety and comfort in men's dress clothes, the absence of pockets in women's dresses, the use of Roman numerals, the small size of bricks, the invariable use of the right hand to hold the fork in eating, are a few of our customs which have little rational basis.

Several influences have caused a marked lessening of the force of custom in modern life. There is a growing division of labor which splits any community into many groups. Because of modern methods of communication there is a growing tendency to break from local traditions. Greater store is set by individuality, and in some lines originality and inventiveness receive encouragement. For all these reasons the former tyranny of custom is steadily growing less. However, this is not an unmixed good. Custom, though a tyrant, is also the creator of social order.

The Functions of Custom. The average person is most content when he can live in a stable society according to well-established and generally accepted folkways. Then he does not continually have to think how to act, for society has done his thinking for him and has declared

that he shall act by its patterns. He has much less to learn than in a society which presents constant choices. He feels a solidarity with the community, for he shares with all its members a common set of symbols, values, and ideas; this sense of at-one-ness with his group is deeply satisfying. In a stable society irregular and injurious conduct is restrained, since each individual is continually aware of what is expected of him. Not only is there less crime, there is less mental wear and tear and less nervous strain in a society with strong, uniform cultural patterns.

Custom Not Always a Certain Guide. In our society custom is no such certain guide. A century of bewilderingly rapid change has upset most of the established ways. A variety of cultural patterns has been brought here from the ends of the earth, and a choice must be made among them. The individual is more free than ever before in human history. Each of us is continually being confronted with choices and the need to make decisions. In this process we are helping to create new customs. It is doubtful, however, that our social life will ever again be so thoroughly regulated by custom as social life has been everywhere regulated in the past.

How Culture Grows. Every separate element of culture (that is, every custom) begins in an invention. Whether the invention be a new tool, a new idea, or a new type of organization, it results from the combination of existing elements. At first, culture grew very slowly, for there were so few chances for a new combination to occur. Let us see how this delayed the invention of new techniques and tools.

For many thousands of years man's only tools were clubs and a rudely shaped stone known as the fist-hatchet. The discovery of a new use for either of these tools added another element to his culture. Then he learned how to make cord from roots and from sinews,



ANCIENT EGYPTIANS BARTER BY THE NILE

and from time to time thought of an additional use for it. At length he thought of lashing his club to his fist-hatchet, and thus invented a crude axe, spear, or harpoon. It was now possible to discover better methods for killing animals and for catching fish. The more man added to his methods and equipment, the more frequently could a new combination occur, and the more rapidly did culture develop.

Diffusion, the Process by Which Culture Spreads. Some inventions have been made independently in different parts of the world, but many inventions were made but once, and slowly spread to other groups by the process known as *diffusion*. Diffusion can occur only through the contact of one group with another. In primitive society this contact took place chiefly in war, the capture of wives, and in barter. Peoples living in river valleys

or along the seacoast were at a tremendous advantage over peoples living in inaccessible places where contact with others was rare. It is no accident that the earliest civilizations arose in the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris and Euphrates, and the Indus. Nor was it by chance that the borders of the Mediterranean became the home of flourishing cultures many centuries ahead of central and eastern Europe.

Diffusion takes place more rapidly than ever before in the modern world. Formerly thousands of years might elapse before an invention was known in all parts of a continent; today new ideas and methods may quickly become common property of the entire world. In this way cultures are tending to become more alike. Local differences are being slowly eliminated.

The Borrowing of Culture Traits Is Selective. A group of people will not adopt every new method or idea with which it comes in contact. A primitive tribe living by hunting and fishing will take little interest in the discoveries of their herding neighbors. The Eskimo, whose environment has compelled them to live on fish and meat for many centuries, will not soon add cereals and vegetables to their diet. A people like the Chinese, who have been using tea for thousands of years and have made tea-drinking the center of numerous ceremonies, will not quickly welcome a new beverage like coffee.

Missionaries have discovered that some religions are exclusive and others are not. Christianity makes little headway in a Mohammedan country, nor does Mohammedanism gain numerous converts in a Christian country, for each is a complete system of ideas and prejudices. On the other hand, pagans like the American Indians have been converted to Christianity without great difficulty. They do not discard their old religious practices, however, but combine them with the new ideas and methods of worship. Even today the religious

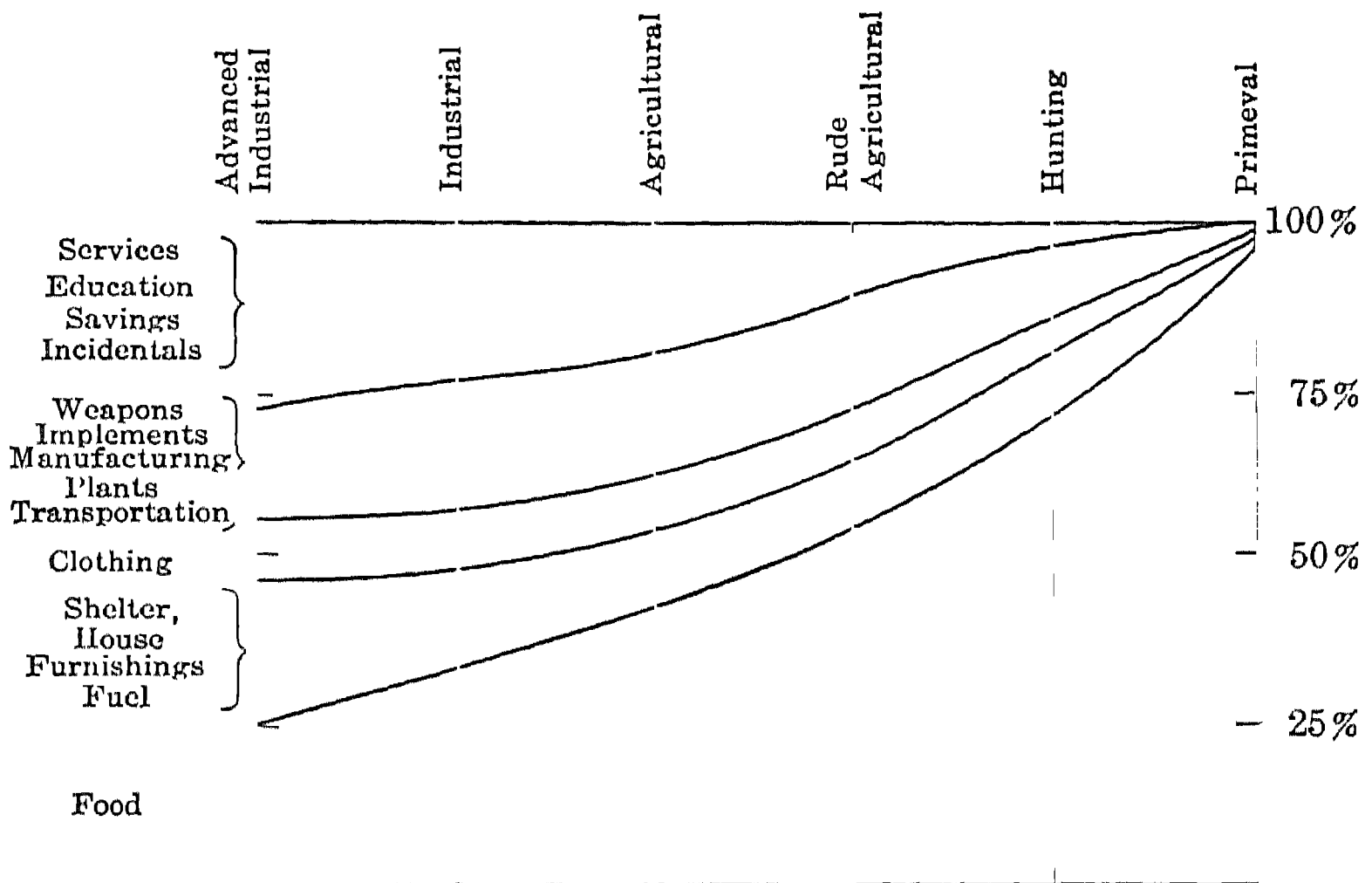
notions of Indian tribes throughout the Americas are a curious blend of Christian and pagan traditions. The blending of different traits is known as *accommodation*. It has taken place on a large scale in the United States, where many cultural elements brought by various immigrant groups have been added to the common culture which is emerging. Witness any American cookbook with recipes from the ends of the earth.

A new weapon or method of defense is likely to spread quickly because every people urgently seeks to be as well armed as its neighbors. The Indians soon learned the use of the horse from the Spanish invaders, and before long whole tribes hunted and made war on horseback. The musket, too, rapidly diffused among the Indians in all parts of the Americas. Facing the perils of the wilderness, the settlers borrowed freely from Indian culture. Corn, potatoes, squash, and tobacco were at once adopted from the Indians, together with the methods for growing, using, and preserving these crops. Within a few decades their use and cultivation were widely diffused in Europe. Two relatively simple cultures, such as that of the first white settlers and that of the Indians, will exchange more elements than two cultures one of which is much more advanced than the other. The Eskimo, for instance, cannot borrow freely from modern America, because they do not have the technical base for using most of our inventions and methods.

Importance of the Technical Base. Lack of an adequate technical base hinders the diffusion of many modern inventions. Thus the Soviet Union is bending every effort to adopt modern technology; yet the process of changing from a primitive agricultural society to one like that of the industrial United States encounters endless difficulties. Under the first five-year plan, enormous factories were set up for turning out automobiles

according to American methods, and workmen were trained to run the factories. Yet before the automobile could be widely used even in Russian cities, a system of gasoline production and distribution had to be worked out; regulations for controlling traffic and for training and supervising drivers had to be developed to fit Russian conditions; pedestrians had to be trained to walk on the sidewalks rather than the highways; and highways had to be widened, straightened, and resurfaced. Many years must elapse before passable roads and a sufficient number of filling stations become available throughout the vast rural areas of the Soviet Union. A generation was needed to make the automobile fully useful in the United States. In areas less industrially advanced, it may take a much longer time before the automobile can become as important a cultural element as it is with us.

Necessity for Related Ideas. The importation of an idea-system such as democracy cannot take place successfully until numerous associated ideas have been accepted. Political democracy depends on such ideas as the equality of man, the dignity of labor, the worth of the individual, and the right of men to determine the kind of government under which they shall live. In the English colonies in America, conditions favored all these conceptions. Feudalism had been outgrown in England and was not set up in the colonies. Every white colonist could become his own master. The majority of colonists worked with their hands. There was no old aristocracy of birth and wealth, and, except in the deep South, no caste system to keep the poor man in his place. Democracy was the natural outgrowth of economic independence. In Mexico and in South America, on the other hand, the white settlers brought feudal customs with them. They reduced the Indians to peonage, and these and Negro slaves per-



From *The Evolving House* (Mass. Inst. of Technology), Vol. 2, by Bemis

Percentage of Social Effort Expended on Various Activities in Various Cultural Periods

As culture advances, less social effort is spent in obtaining food and the physical necessities of life.

formed the physical labor. Free laborers had no incentive to migrate there. A caste system was established, which effectually prevented the growth of democratic ideals. Democratic governments have been from time to time set up, but usually they have soon languished.

Whether the new invention be an idea, a mechanical device, or a technical method, it is evident that the people who borrow it must first have the related ideas necessary to its use. This explains why, in these days of rapid communication and much contact, all cultures do not immediately become one.

What We Mean by Cultural Development. We shall frequently speak of the advance or the development of culture. This means not merely the expanding of culture patterns, nor an increase of tools, machines, and luxuries.

Cultural advance is shown by: (1) increasing protection of life and health; (2) the upholding of the weak (children, women, prisoners, strangers, the sick, and the disabled) against the strong; (3) the encouragement of many types of personality by doing away with the primitive requirement that all conform to a single pattern; and by (4) the promotion of wider and more numerous social relations. The first and the fourth depend mainly on material progress, but the second and third depend upon a growing appreciation of personality.

Measured by these tests, a culture does not advance uniformly. Sometimes it may be advancing in one respect, and standing still or even going backward in another respect. This can be seen in several countries now governed by dictators, where a marked improvement in the protection of life and health and in the widening of social relations is accompanied by such backward steps as the denial of civil rights to political prisoners, the restriction of women's rights, and interference with religious liberty.

WORD STUDY

accommodation	diffusion	society
cultural pattern	folkways	sociology
culture	penology	
custom	social heritage	

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Show that a group of people gathered together in one place is not necessarily a society.
2. Distinguish between social and individual behavior with examples.
3. What is meant by the expression "the Great Society"?
4. Why do people study the social sciences? Why may sociology be said to be more than a science?

5. What important idea was first popularized by Saint-Pierre? What influence did it have?
6. What is culture? How is it transmitted?
7. In primitive societies how did diffusion of invention take place? Why did civilization first arise in river valleys?
8. Explain the function of custom.
9. What is meant by the tyranny of custom? Give examples.
10. State four tests of cultural development.

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Keep a record for one day of the things you wished to do but did not do because of social disapproval. The disapproval of what persons or groups did you fear?
2. Select for study some country now undergoing rapid social change. Can you determine ways in which it is making a true cultural advance? Ways in which it is not advancing?
3. List the places where comparatively stable cultures may still be found.
4. Read *The Christ of the Indian Road*, by E. Stanley Jones, and report to the class on why Christian missions have made slow progress in Asia.
5. List the various societies to which class members belong.
6. The number of patents issued by the Patent Office has grown at a rapidly increasing rate. Why should this be so? Do you expect this trend to continue indefinitely?
7. It is often easier to get people to adopt a mechanical invention than a social invention, such as a new form of education or religion. How could this be explained?
8. Why are cultures not industrially advanced slow in adopting some modern inventions? Which inventions do they borrow most readily?
9. When a government forcibly abolishes an ancient custom, as was done by the Soviet government in collectivizing the farms, what is likely to be the attitude of the people concerned? Why can a government not abolish all outworn customs and replace them with better ways of doing things?
10. Why does life in an unstable society demand universal education?

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- Moon, Grace, and Carl, *Lost Indian Magic*. An artistic incorporation of tribal custom and belief into a romance of the early desert Indian.
- Murfree, Mary N., *In the Tennessee Mountains*. Fights, feuds, and frolics of a primitive mountain folk.
- Quick, Herbert A., *One Man's Life*. The amazing cultural changes that one man has witnessed in the Middle West.
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CHAPTER II

OUR LAGGING INSTITUTIONS

How do the ways of earning a living influence law, art, religion, recreation, and family life?

Why does our society have so many different culture complexes?

Why do institutions resist change?

What influences are always causing changes within institutions?

OUR INSTITUTIONS are the epic of our own people written not in rime but in stone and currency and merchant marines and city colleges.

RUTH BENEDICT

The Material and the Non-material Culture. Culture may be thought of as having two divisions — the material culture and the non-material culture. These are also known as the primary and the secondary culture. The immediate processes for making and using objects are the material culture. The material culture consists of the methods of carrying on all industries, including the techniques and knowledge needed for providing food, shelter, transportation, travel, dress, utensils, tools, weapons, toys, and books. Material culture is essential for survival; improvements in it are often eagerly looked for and quickly adopted.

The non-material or secondary culture comprises morals, law, religion, government, education, recreation, and communication. Its form is largely determined by the material culture. It changes much more slowly, however, than the material culture. Sometimes changes in the secondary culture bring about changes in the primary culture, as when the passage of a new law makes some dangerous industrial process illegal. But

in most cases a change that on the surface appears to have originated in the secondary culture will, upon further study, be found to be the mere reflection of a change in the primary culture. It became possible, for instance, to outlaw phosphorus matches only when the process for making safer types of matches had been perfected.

It is easiest to understand the relationship between the material and the non-material culture by examining the ways of a primitive society. We generally describe such a society by describing the ways in which it gets its living — its material culture.

When we think of the Old Stone Age we picture a savage people devoting practically all their energies to gathering food. We know that whatever else they did was incidental to the grim struggle against starvation. Their magic was an attempt to force a hostile universe to give success to their efforts. Their laws must have pertained to the sharing and conservation of the food supply. Their education could only have been concerned with teaching the young to make tools, get food, and practice the necessary magic rites.

When we think of the New Stone Age, the Bronze Age, the Iron Age, or the Industrial Revolution, we realize that each epoch was accompanied by fundamental changes in the material culture. In each case material changes brought about a vast new development in government, religion, recreation, and all the rest of the non-material ways. The whole culture was transformed by the change in the material methods. We have now entered the Electric Age, and are already aware of profound alterations in our patterns of living. (Ill. p. 1)

In order to emphasize the connection between the material and the non-material culture, let us consider the contrast between the life of a New Stone Age group living by herding and one living by crop-growing.



SHEPHERDER OF PATRIARCHAL PALESTINE

The Life of Primitive Herders. To obtain fresh pasturage for their livestock it was necessary for herders to drive their animals from one place to another. Herders were therefore nomads. Their houses had to be light in weight and easily taken down and set up as occasion should require. Pottery utensils were too heavy and too easily broken to be of much use; utensils were made of skins and were few in number. This kept the etiquette of eating and of hospitality at a very simple level. All dipped into a common bowl. There could be no furniture other than carpets and blankets. Artistry was expended on weaving and leatherwork, but woodworking, sculpture, and painting had little encouragement. Religious rites and magical ceremonies (these can scarcely be distinguished in primitive society) were likely to center about the welfare of the herds. At a late stage of religious development the

tribal god might be thought of as a shepherd looking after the needs of his people, who were his sheep.

As the guarding of the herd required the co-operation of a number of persons, it became customary for the herdsman to keep his sons and their wives and children in his household. All were subject to his orders and he had the power to punish them even by death. He was priest, lawgiver, and judge all in one and acknowledged no superior. Such a family, led by the oldest active male, is known as a *patriarchal* family. Herding was considered man's work; women were of little importance except for the children they bore. Warfare between families was almost constant. Each family struggled against others for the use of the waterholes and the grazing. Each tried to seize the herds belonging to its rivals and to kill off their men. Population remained sparse, and social organization beyond the family group was almost lacking.

The Life of Primitive Crop-Growers. When crop-growing became the principal occupation of a people, the culture was rapidly elaborated. There was a settled community life. The arts of building, home furnishing, and decoration were encouraged. There were more comforts and refinements in the home and more privacy than was possible among herders. A smaller family unit was the rule. Each son set up a household of his own after his marriage, and broke away from the authority of his father or oldest male relative. His wife was under his orders and not those of his father, which tended to improve her position and to secure her greater consideration. Agriculture was woman's work so long as draft animals were not employed. Men fished, hunted, made boats, tools, and woodwork, and were busy with magic for the good of their enterprises. Many families could live peaceably together in a single village; numerous ways of co-operating as a large

group were invented, by which the government, the religious practices, and the recreations became much more highly organized than in a herding society.

The government represented the entire community and was not vested in a single tyrannical old man. Frequently a council of elders ruled the village or shared the power with a chief. Sometimes women were given a place on this council. Not uncommonly, several near-by villages united informally into a peace group, acknowledging the strongest of their local leaders as a war-chief when they made war with a tribe outside the peace group.

Culture Complexes. A great number of related customs centering about some way of making a living may be described as a *culture complex*. The entire culture of a primitive tribe may be spoken of as a fishing complex, a rice- or maize-growing complex, a bison-hunting complex, or a cattle-herding complex, in accordance with the principal method of obtaining a living.

In modern society, because of its minute division of labor, there are many culture complexes. Every trade and profession has its own vocabulary and a body of ideas and practices not wholly understandable to members of other groups. Even tramps and members of the underworld may be said to possess culture complexes of their own. Some culture complexes within a society are very closely related, and are interwoven at so many points that an individual may readily change from one to another. But, generally, changing to another is difficult; the outsider not only lacks the special knowledge and skills that are required, but his way of expressing himself and his manners subtly set him apart. A professional man reduced to waiting on customers behind the counter of a food-wagon reveals himself with every word and gesture. A nursery-maid posing as a governess must be very clever if her speech and her manners do not betray her.



SHARE CROPPERS

The differences between culture complexes are most marked when the occupational group is also a racial or nationality group, for example, Pullman porters, Chinese restaurant-keepers, Armenian rug merchants. In the United States, where the races have lived together for a long time, the difference in race may be less important than the difference in occupation. Thus, the poor white and Negro croppers of the South are more alike in culture than either are like the plantation owners. There is such a deep cleavage between the vocabularies, ideas, and ways of living of the croppers and the plantation owners that they have very little in common. No sudden reversal of fortune could erase this difference in thought and behavior.

Institutions. A culture complex consists of thousands of related patterns of behavior known as institutions.

An institution is a group of folkways organized to serve some basic human interest.

The bucket brigade is an early American institution that has now almost disappeared. It was a method of fighting fire. The neighbors assembled and organized informally to keep all the available buckets moving from the nearest well to the fire and back again in an orderly procession. This was accomplished by establishing two lines of people who passed the buckets from one end of the line to the other. Somebody assumed leadership for the time being. After the fire was over the neighbors cared for the injured, took in the homeless, and arranged to assist in the rebuilding. The same folkways would determine procedure at any similar occasion. They were practiced and continued because they accomplished what was necessary. The bucket brigade is an institution with a very simple organization. In most places it has not been used for many years, and if a sudden need for it should arise there might be considerable difficulty in getting it to function. Wherever its use has been forgotten, it has ceased to be a living institution.

Fire fighting has now become more highly organized, that is, more institutionalized. The first step beyond the bucket brigade was the volunteer fire company. These unpaid fire fighters had experienced leaders and a certain amount of equipment. They assumed charge at all fires and became expert in meeting the situation with the aid of the rest of the community. The fire company instructed new members and worked out better methods for doing its work. When communities grew larger and neighborliness grew less, the volunteer company was replaced by a paid fire department. Only in the smaller communities is the volunteer fire company a living institution today.

Every institution consists of three parts: (1) a cluster

of folkways, (2) people organized to observe and perpetuate them, and (3) a group of things used by the people for the observance and perpetuation of these folkways. The organization may be a loose one, as in the bucket brigade, or it may be as complex as that of a symphony orchestra, a corporation, or a city government.

In common speech the term *institution* is often used to refer to a building or to some agency with physical equipment that is very much in evidence, as a school, hospital, or club. Yet the term institution always implies not only this physical equipment but also a program for its use and some group for whose benefit it exists. An abandoned Tom Thumb golf course is not now an institution, nor is a ruined pesthouse to which, long ago, those sick with contagious diseases were brought for isolation.

An institution is a relatively permanent and formal way of dealing with certain situations. It arises out of relatively fixed needs and is passed on from one generation to another. It is made up of traditions, codes, administrative machinery, and physical equipment, yet it really exists only in the minds of the people who use it and support it. If they cease to use it and support it, it cannot possibly continue. When an institution is no longer serviceable, it gradually dies. History is filled with dead and dying institutions — human sacrifice, slavery, bear-baiting, piracy, and a host of others.

Cultural Lag. Although the roots of an institution run far back into the past, it is always in process of being made over to fit new conditions. Sometimes institutions change so slowly that they appear to stand still.

An institution will adopt new equipment and new methods long before it will adopt a change in its form of organization. An athletic association readily accepts

a better football, a new method of play, or the use of light for evening practice, but would find difficulty in reorganizing for the purpose of giving all its members the chance to participate in athletics. Even to change a rule of a game is a complicated procedure, requiring the co-operation of many associations. A fire department would adopt a new kind of fire engine sooner than it would adopt an insurance or pension system for its members. A school committee would change the textbooks used in the schools long before it could be persuaded to reorganize the course of study or give up the competitive marking system. This brings us to a basic concept of sociology.

The non-material culture tends to lag behind changes in the material culture. The interval which elapses before the non-material ways are reshaped in accordance with new tools and methods is known as *cultural lag*.

We find many examples of cultural lag in our society. Our methods for training and supervising automobile drivers are obviously out of step with the increased use and speed of the automobile. Unbridled speculation in securities, such as preceded the recent depression, is dangerous to society, yet modest attempts to regulate the stock exchanges have met determined opposition. Our knowledge of the production and use of electricity is a long way ahead of our scheme for selling it. Methods for the capture of criminals have only begun to be adapted to the new inventions which enable a criminal to escape rapidly from the scene of his crime. The list of lags is almost endless.

Nearly all our social problems are due to cultural lags. The high delinquency rate among slum children is probably due mostly to the slowness with which play spaces and decent housing are being provided in the congested portions of cities. The insecurity of the modern employee is the result of a lag in providing

adequate unemployment insurance made necessary by the instability of modern industry. The instability of industry is due in part to the lag in curbing speculation and to the lag in adjusting buying power to producing power. The high death rate from industrial diseases is caused partially by the slowness with which factories are equipped with the dust removers and ventilation systems made necessary by modern tools and chemical processes. The increasing occurrence of mental disease is due in some degree to excessive strains and worries suffered by individuals in a society that is imperfectly aware of the need for guaranteeing work to everyone who wishes it. Social reform consists in discovering and overcoming each separate lag. Nothing can be accomplished by a sweeping attack on all institutions at once. Indeed, no amount of effort could overcome all the cultural lags that plague a changing society. But with patience and intelligence the worst lags can one by one be moderated.

Conservatism. Institutions resist change as long as possible. The more highly organized they are, and the more people there are engaged in carrying on their work, the more slowly can they be modified. This tendency of an institution to continue as it is, is known as *cultural inertia*.

It is, in reality, the people who support the institution who are responsible for its inertia. The institution has no real existence except in their minds. If they could all be made to want a change, the institution would be reshaped immediately. But as a rule, most of them want to continue in the comfortable grooves of familiar ways. A new way does not seem essential, even if possibly it is desirable, and to keep on with the old is easier. Besides, there is an emotional attachment to the old. People revere the past and cherish the cultural patterns that are familiar. They have sentimental as-

sociations with "the little red schoolhouse." It has become a symbol to them, and they are hurt by any attempt to alter it. Old people are particularly reluctant to see alterations made in the traditional institutions. The desire to keep things as they are is known as *conservatism*.

Young people are more likely to favor change. They are usually more conscious of the immediate present and are more aware of needs which the old institutions are not meeting adequately. They are less devoted to symbols and to sentiments and more interested in the future. In a word, they are less conservative. From youth generally comes the demand for reform.

Vested Interest. Those who derive support or prestige from an institution have a selfish interest in keeping it as it is. Reform may endanger their jobs, their profits, or their prominence. They cannot be expected to urge reform. Whether they are conscious or unconscious of their selfish interest, they are practically certain to oppose any change that threatens it.

People invariably seek to have their motives appear respectable; so vested interests try to appear disinterested. They fight the proposed change on the ground that it is contrary to community interest. The coach drivers of a town in Siberia prevented the Trans-Siberian Railroad from coming through or near their town, because of the noise and smoke and the undesirable persons it would bring. The distiller, the brewer, and the saloonkeeper fought the prohibition movement with all the might of their organizations and their wealth; when prohibition came they continued to fight it in the name of personal liberty. Slaveholders argued that slavery was the only means of converting the black men to Christianity and thus saving them from everlasting punishment. When some idealists formed an association for the purpose of transporting freed Negroes to Africa,

they received the enthusiastic assistance of a number of big slaveholders, who secretly believed that the presence of any free Negroes in the South would make the slaves less submissive. Financial interests oppose government regulation for the professed reason that rugged individualism is better for society. Public utilities fight rate reduction, arguing that the funds of widows and orphans invested in their securities would be endangered.

Attacks are sometimes made on the semiprofessional system of football at the leading colleges, but little has been done to alter the system in any way. Too many people are used to it and want to perpetuate it. The colleges, which secure large revenues from football, the famous coaches whose sizable salaries come from that revenue, the alumni who take pride in a winning team, the sports-writers and broadcasters whose jobs depend more on spectacular contests than on the minor contests between players of ordinary ability—all these prefer to have the system remain. For the most part they ignore the demands of reformers, counting on popular indifference and conservatism to keep things as they are. If pressed to defend the system, vested interest might claim that it finances less popular sports, or that the public wants contests between experts, or that it attracts students to attend college. These arguments might, indeed, be sound, yet so long as they are presented by persons having an interest in preventing a change, they are under suspicion.

* *Four Influences that Change Institutions.* Although conservatism, vested interest, and popular indifference combine to delay possibly needed institutional changes, institutions are forever in process of being made over. It is the outward form that resists alteration longest.

Important inventions work powerfully to alter institutions. Thus, instantaneous communication in the Electric Age has modified almost every old institution,

and has helped create many new ones, like the wired news picture, the Radio Amateur Hour, the telegraph greeting card, shopping by telephone, and the stock ticker service. The effect on international institutions is particularly marked.

Scientific discoveries often instigate changes in institutions; witness the evolution of the hospital in response to discoveries in the field of medicine, or take the development of progressive schools in response to the new knowledge of the psychology of learning.

New economic conditions transform old institutions faster than anything else. The rise of the factory took one activity after another from the home, and the members of the family followed. It drew myriads of workers, and housed them in crowded slums. It even created a new morality in which thrift and toil and frugal living were the cardinal virtues, while the enjoyment of leisure was frowned upon. Mass production has also had profound repercussions. It depends on a mass market, and must encourage free spending; therefore it is opposed to frugality and self-denial. It has given men undreamed-of time for leisure, and thus led to the expansion of all those institutions which require leisure. It is changing our living standards, our homes, schools, hospitals, and churches.

New ideas are always being incorporated into old institutions, slowly making them over. When individualism became a strong current in the intellectual life of Europe, it shook church and state to their foundations. It created a distrust of authority, caused the separation of church and state, produced the Protestant movement, and stimulated the demand for public schools and for political democracy. Later it encouraged the Industrial Revolution and exalted the profit system. Today the idea of national planning is beginning to alter the institutions of government, agriculture, industry, and edu-

cation. It is a new wine that may crack some of the structures of old economic institutions.

Summary. Both the material and non-material folkways tend to group themselves into institutions organized to serve some human need. As culture advances, all human activity tends to be institutionalized.

The principal occupation of a group is reflected in its institutions. A cluster of institutions related to one way of making a living is known as a culture complex. An advanced culture is an aggregation of culture complexes. While some of its institutions serve the whole society, others are purely local or occupational.

An institution is a relatively permanent and formal way of dealing with certain recurring situations. Because it tends to preserve a fixed form, even when this no longer serves the original purpose, it is likely to exhibit cultural lag. An institution is an accepted answer to a social need or problem, and becomes a barrier to the consideration of other and possibly better answers. Yet continual readjustment to changing conditions is the price of survival.

If we try to describe our own culture we do so in terms of our institutions. These may bear the same names as institutions of other societies and other times, yet express quite different ideas and values. New meanings are continually being expressed through old forms, as the history of the Christian church bears witness. To become aware of these new meanings is one of the reasons for studying sociology.

WORD STUDY

conservatism	institution	techniques
cultural inertia	material culture	vested interest
cultural lag	non-material culture	
culture complex	patriarchal family	

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Explain in detail how their principal occupation influenced the whole culture of (1) a herding tribe, (2) a crop-growing tribe.
2. Name the three parts of an institution. Illustrate.
3. Why does the material culture tend to change more rapidly than the non-material culture?
4. What is conservatism? Is it useful or harmful?
5. What is vested interest? Does it delay progress?
6. Why are young people likely to be less conservative than the old?
7. What is a culture complex? Give numerous examples.
8. Show how fire fighting in rural America became more and more institutionalized.
9. What influences cause institutions to be changed? Give an example of each.

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Make a list of several institutions which are now under attack. Indicate ways in which they are being reshaped.
2. Make a list of dead and dying institutions.
3. Is an Egyptian pyramid an institution? An abandoned church? A suit of armor?
4. Give examples of cultural lag conspicuous in your own community.
5. In all institutions the form is after a while likely to be taken for the substance. Can you illustrate this in the field of education? (Hint: school grades, teachers' certificates, etc.)
6. The more closely connected any institution is with other institutions, the more likely it is to resist change. Can you show why it is so difficult to secure modification of a tax or a tariff?
7. An object may represent an institution, as a coin represents coinage or a plow represents agriculture. Can you think of any object which is not yet institutionalized?
8. How has the automobile affected the rural church, school,

crossroads store, and rural neighborhood? What sociological principle does this illustrate?

9. Name the characteristic institutions of the American frontier. Which of these still live?
10. Consult encyclopedias and write a short history of some institution in which you are interested, such as the high school, the Little Theater, or the public library.

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UNIT



HOW THE SOCIAL HERITAGE IS HANDED ON

CHAPTER III. SOCIAL CONTROL THROUGH IMITATION AND SUGGESTION. The individual is controlled by the folkways, folklore, symbols, ceremony, fashion, and standards of distinction of his group. Crowd-mindedness.

CHAPTER IV. SOCIAL CONTROL THROUGH MORALS, LAWS, AND ETHICS. Morals emerge from customs, and are enforced by conscience. How the law has grown. The common law. The statutory law. The rule of law. Associational law. Ethics the highest type of social control.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL CONTROL THROUGH IMITATION AND SUGGESTION

How does society control the individual without his realizing it?

Does ritual have any influence over the intelligent?

What is the use of etiquette?

Why do crowds revert to primitive ways?

How do Americans seek social distinction?

TO ACHIEVE greater coherence society must have prophets, poets, and artists to give a vivid sense of new values, and a host of economists, engineers, and technicians who will translate these values into specific measures.

HELEN EVERETT

SCARCELY any phase of sociology is so fascinating as that of social control — those processes by which society influences the actions of its members. From birth to death no one is free from social control. Hardly a single thought or deed occurs without the accompanying consciousness of how society will judge it. Even in sleep the individual cannot escape from it. In pain and in illness he is still obedient to it; only in mental disease does he partially take refuge from it, building himself an imaginary world wherein harsh social judgments cannot enter.

Social control takes a variety of forms. It may be as gentle as the expression on a mother's face, or as terrible as the fear of the gallows. It may be completely unconscious, as when it operates through stories told to children; or it may be thoroughly institutionalized, as in the Constitution of the United States. In the final analysis, however, it depends on two basic social processes, *imitation* and *suggestion*.

Imitation. The earliest and the most important means of social control is imitation. It takes place when the action of one individual awakens the impulse in another to attempt the same thing. It may be wholly unconscious, as in the young infant. At first the infant smiles without any apparent intention of doing so, and, so far as we can see, without the accompanying feeling of joy. It is a mere chance arrangement of the facial muscles, and may come as he pauses for breath in the middle of a crying spell. A few weeks later he smiles responsively when someone who takes care of him smiles at him. This invites petting and other demonstrations of approval, and soon he learns that smiling is an effective method of securing affectionate attention.

The psychologist would say that the baby's behavior had been *conditioned* or modified as regards smiling, so that hereafter he expects his smiles to bring a pleasurable response from others. In a similar fashion he learns to laugh, to talk, to manage his body, and to manipulate his toys in imitation of those around him. His efforts at imitation call forth adult encouragement and hasten his development. The child who receives little individual attention, due, perhaps, to living in an orphanage, is always much slower to learn social behavior than one who receives a great deal of attention. By imitation the child rapidly takes on the culture into which he is born. Much behavior formerly thought to be inherited or instinctive is now believed to be the result of imitation. Uncustomary behavior is likely to be frowned on; if so, the child will soon discontinue it.

The adult, quite as much as the child, is an imitator. When he finds himself in an unfamiliar situation or among strangers, he waits until he sees what others do. Then he conforms to whatever seems to be the customary mode. Thus the immigrant learns to avoid unfavorable notice. Imitation is not critical, and does not

consider whether the action imitated is in itself desirable or undesirable, so long as it will secure the coveted social approval. When a choice exists between several customary ways of behavior, the individual will either imitate that which is most familiar or that which is likely to win him the most prestige.

Suggestion. Closely associated with imitation, and also a basic means of social control, is suggestion. This is the process by which one accepts without critical understanding or adequate evidence what those around one think and feel. It causes us to hold the same opinions and standards and sentiments as do those with whom we associate. Most of our beliefs are formed in childhood and reflect those of our parents and teachers. The longer we have held them, the less possible it is for us to question them. They seem like eternal truths. Only the adult of exceptionally vigorous mind can subject them to critical judgment.

Some persons are more suggestible than others. The ignorant are more suggestible than the learned, and the emotional are more suggestible than those of deliberate, rational habits of thought. One is more open to suggestion in fields in which his knowledge is limited. It is the city man who is most likely to buy orange groves in Florida. It is the unknowing who buy expensive patent medicines and cosmetics of magical repute.

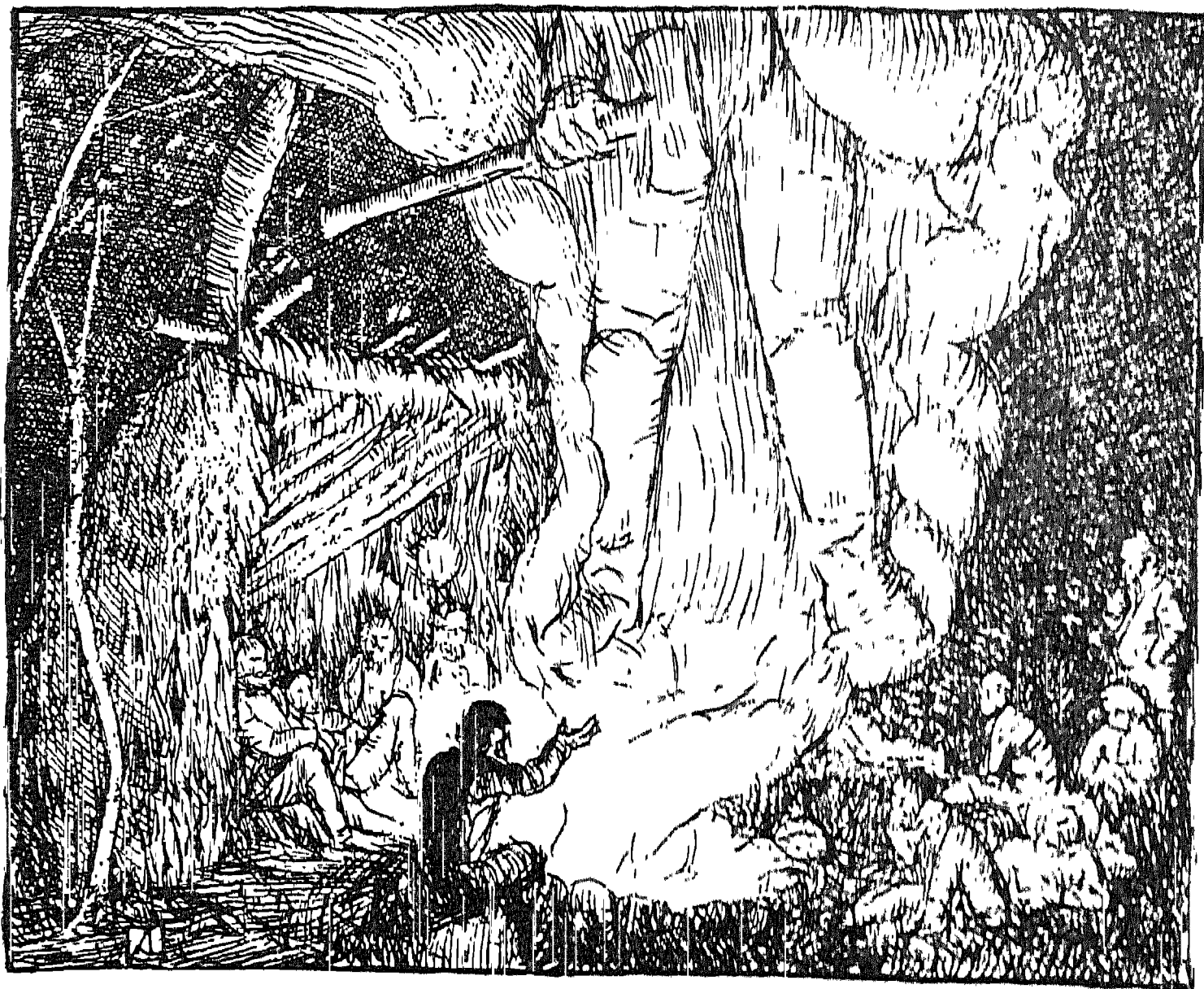
The remainder of the chapter will explain some of the ancient agencies through which imitation and suggestion operate to shape our lives.

Folklore. Until literacy is general in a society, folklore is one of the powerful unconscious agencies of social control. It is an oral art, transmitted by word of mouth. Folklore includes traditional stories, myths, proverbs, superstitions, magic, songs, and festivals. It reflects the beliefs and aspirations of a people, and their explanations of human motives and of the universe. It embodies a

large element of wish fulfillment, for in folklore the dead are brought to life, pride goes before a fall, the beggar-maid marries the king's son, the poor boy slays a giant, and the good receive a material reward. In the folklore of a people are revealed their acceptance or intolerance of autocrats and rascals, their abhorrence of some actions and satisfaction with others, their behavior toward the poor, and their treatment of elders, women, children, and aliens. The folklore not only reflects these attitudes but continually strengthens and continues them. Through being endlessly repeated, it is a powerful source of suggestion and encourages wide imitation.

In modern civilization folklore has lost nearly all its influence. It has long since been collected and written down, and we recognize that it is the thought of a society which no longer exists. Its wisdom is not our wisdom, its ideals not quite our ideals. When, for instance, we read the legends of King Arthur, it is difficult to translate them in terms of modern life. If they had not been written, but had continued to be handed down orally, they would have gradually changed with the passage of the years, always putting on modern dress and reflecting contemporary ideas. They would have continued to shape our character as they shaped that of our ancestors. The best example of native American folklore is the Paul Bunyan stories still told in lumber camps. In the Cumberland mountains the people have preserved many English ballads to this day, from time to time inventing new ones and adding these to the traditional store. With these and a few other exceptions, folklore no longer lives in the United States.

Ceremony or Ritual. Since Old Stone Age times ceremony has occupied a notable place in social control. It is not peculiar to religion. It is a formal series of acts indicating an attitude of reverence or a sense of the exceptional importance of an occasion. At the same time



PAUL BUNYAN GROWS TO GIANTHOOD

it expresses and creates an attitude. A cordial handshake arouses the friendliness it is intended to symbolize, just as a smile may awaken the feeling of joy it is supposed to express. The ceremony has another value — it binds the community together, heightening the sense of common life and re-enforcing the traditional attitudes.

Every people has its special rites for marking the entrance of the young person upon adult responsibilities. The intention is to impress him strongly with what society henceforth expects of him. Primitive tribes required a boy to submit to torture, or a long fast alone in the forest, or perhaps to bring back the head of an enemy. Then for the first time he was allowed to witness certain sacred dances and hear certain legends reserved exclusively for adult men of his tribe. The tribal laws might be recounted by medicine men in frightful costumes, with threats of disaster to whosoever should

violate them. In medieval times the ceremonies by which a young man became a knight emphasized his new responsibilities and set them forth as shining ideals. Among us, initiation into a secret society and entrance into a church is observed with ritual, that the event may be memorable.

Marriage ceremonies seek to emphasize the union of the wedded couple by their drinking from a common bowl, the exchange of rings, a public embrace, the tying of their right arms together by a love-knot, or some other symbolic act. The bride might be required to give her husband a willow switch in token of her submission, and he might be required to carry her over the threshold of her new home. By these and a thousand other ceremonies various peoples have sought to dramatize the new relation and the new duties of the wedded pair.

In feudal days the vassal knelt before his lord and placed his hands between the lord's hands. Then the lord kissed him, and the vassal swore homage while his hand rested on the Bible. This ritual publicly established the service due from the vassal to the lord and the protection he was to receive in exchange. No mere signing of a contract could have carried half the weight.

The ceremony or rite is nearly always linked with symbolic objects, such as the wedding ring, a medal, the communion cup, the flag, the crown, or a sacred book. The symbol becomes precious for the meaning with which it is endowed in the ceremony. It serves thereafter as a reminder of the obligations undertaken. To harm or destroy the symbol implies the denial of all that it stands for. That is why the desecration of a flag or an altar or a Bible arouses powerful indignation.

Ceremony grips the imagination. It dramatizes some momentous event of the individual's life — his birth, adulthood, marriage, or death, giving it dignity and

significance. Or it dramatizes his membership in a particular family, church, fraternity, community, or nation, creating in him a feeling of loyalty and pride and readiness to sacrifice himself for the larger interest. By repetition, as when the married couple attend the wedding of their friends, the ceremony renews its powerful appeal to the emotions. In this way the values which society wishes to perpetuate are firmly fixed.

The individual who drifts away from such an allegiance is pretty sure to come again under its sway. He cannot easily escape the often-repeated ritual. Its symbols are continually reminding him of the sentiments which once stirred his heart. He may argue that the flag is only a piece of bunting, but in time of patriotic excitement he will be impelled to act, outwardly at least, as his associates do, and presently the traditional symbolism will call forth in him the expected attitudes and behavior. A man may be an unbeliever for most of his life, yet when an hour of sorrow is upon him, he will perhaps suddenly find himself turning for comfort to religious sentiments experienced in his childhood. The familiar religious symbols will move him again in spite of his mental reservations.

Modern society tends to discard traditional rituals. But social life without ritual lacks dignity, and robs the individual of his sense of significance to the group. He longs to solemnify the events which seem important to him — his betrothal, marriage, the birth of a child, the death of a loved one. If the old rites have lost meaning, new ones will be invented, although these will not at first possess the same power to grip the emotions.

Manners and Etiquette. Manners are the preferred ways of acting in social intercourse. They are not quite compulsory, in that the individual is not severely punished if he fails to observe them. The unmannerly individual is, however, not welcome. He makes his

associates feel uncomfortable. There is a sense of awkwardness, of unexpectedness, of maladjustment to the situation, when the unmannerly individual is present. He is a disturbing influence. Manners, then, are an invisible lubricant that makes social intercourse run smoothly and without halts and hitches.

Manners are not necessarily the best and most reasonable ways of behaving. In Uganda it is most impolite to greet people whom one finds eating; a well-mannered person will not so much as look at them. A guest in Uganda should belch heartily to show his approval of the food. Every people thinks its own ways best and regards strangers as unmannerly. Moreover, every people invents reasons to defend the manners it finds itself practicing. We think our manners are sensible because we are used to them and cannot imagine another system of behaving.

Manners tend to express attitudes approved by the group. In a caste society, manners uphold the distinction between the castes. Members of the upper caste take pride in haughty, insolent behavior toward their inferiors, while members of the lower castes must express servility toward those above them. Undemocratic people expect submissive manners from a servant, or even from a workman. The good manners of a lesser race that is regarded or kept inferior are those expressing a cringing attitude toward the dominant race. Sometimes the same attitude is expected in a child, and other manners are denounced as "forward" or "bold." When women were regarded as inferior to men, any assumption of equality was said to be "bold."

Among people who regard each other as equals, good manners express considerateness, mutual respect, unselfishness, and appreciation of all favors done. These attitudes determine the behavior appropriate to a given situation. When the attitudes are felt to be correct,

society may be somewhat tolerant of the details of the behavior. This is increasingly true as culture advances. In fact, as the substance comes to be valued more than the outward form, there is more permanent agreement as to what good manners include. Among civilized people it is generally considered poor form to interrupt, to speak more loudly than is necessary, to boast, to say anything that might humiliate, to attack the religion of anyone present, and to monopolize the conversation. We regard these as very bad manners because they indicate a lack of the mutual respect and considerateness which we insist upon.

There is much less agreement as to correct etiquette. Etiquette prescribes the detailed formalities to be observed on ceremonious occasions. Originally it applied only to situations in which exalted persons were present. In fact, it has always flourished at court, from which it spreads bit by bit among the population. It was formerly the exclusive property of a privileged class, and a sign of membership in that class, tending therefore to express snobbery and class prestige. Traces of this still linger wherever etiquette is observed. Etiquette may be used more effectively than insult to show another person that he is regarded as an inferior; thus, by show of too great respect, the exact opposite may be indicated. Such a use of etiquette is poor manners in a democratic society.

In America, etiquette is widely diffused. Insofar as it provides forms for expressing considerateness, unselfishness, gratitude, and respect, it is identical with good manners. However, etiquette does not apply to unusual situations; in these nothing but the correct attitudes will lead to mannerly conduct. There is no etiquette for escaping from a burning building or for giving assistance after an accident, yet the genuinely mannerly person will know what to do. Etiquette is

designed only for definite occasions. Therefore we speak of the etiquette of a wedding or a funeral, the etiquette of attendance at the theater, and the etiquette of entertaining at a dinner.

As an agency of social control etiquette has three functions. First, it checks impetuous behavior and encourages self-control. Second, it is directed toward arousing favorable emotions in others — emotions that make social relations easier and more dignified. Finally, like other ceremonies, it fosters appropriate feelings in the doer. Offering one's seat to an aged person is a reminder that age needs special consideration. The acts of deference a man may show to a woman are designed to remind him that his superior strength should be at her disposal, rather than to be used in commanding her. Words of thanks, for the most part, awaken in the speaker a sense of his indebtedness to others. These and other usages tend to call forth in the doer the attitudes of respect, chivalry, appreciation, and so forth, which the form suggests.

Fashion. Those who follow fashion may imagine that they are escaping the tyranny of custom. But a fashion is a custom disguised as a break from custom. It is a variation played on a cultural theme. Started by some socially prominent individual with the intention of setting him apart from others, it is copied by his associates and soon by all who long to be "in the swim." When too many people have imitated it, it ceases to be fashionable. It is then common or vulgar or "out-of-date," and must be abandoned for something newer. The fashionable forever strain after something still more novel. When nothing new suggests itself, a return to the mode of a generation ago may start another cycle of fashion. Fashion is not limited to clothing. It operates in the field of recreation, diet, travel, and the theater, and determines the kind of books that are read



PENITENTS AT THE MOURNERS' BENCH

and the kind of houses that are built. Slang is fashion in speech. Fashion plays its biggest part in societies which have a surplus of wealth, for in these societies many things can be discarded merely because they have become unfashionable.

The Crowd and the Mob. When a large number of persons are gathered together, their attention concentrated on some single object, as at a political rally or a religious revival, sometimes an intense, uniform emotion may take possession of them. The individual members are in *interaction*, that is, each is reacting upon the others and is stimulated by them. Each sees in his neighbors the signs of emotional response to the situation, and there grows up the belief that all feel the same way. Under these conditions the individual is easily swept along with the current of the rising crowd excitement. He shouts his approval of ideas that might never appeal to him under other circumstances, and he

may follow some reckless leader blindly as if he had no will of his own.

A crowd is in a highly suggestible state. It believes easily and is uncritical. It does not reason; it merely responds with intense emotion to popular symbols and slogans. A clever leader can deliberately fan its excitement and cause it to follow his suggestions. The crowd readily rids itself of higher moral considerations in favor of the more primitive. In fact, its behavior is reduced to the lowest common denominator of all its members. The crowd is anonymous, which encourages each member to abandon himself to its purpose. It represents social control on a lower plane than that which normally prevails. In time of stress, and under the influence of propaganda, any society may be converted into a crowd. This often happens at the outset of war.

When a crowd acts, moving as a body toward some unreasoned objective, it becomes a *mob*. The crowd that rushes in panic from a burning theater, trampling down the weak, is a mob. The Children's Crusade, the bloody scenes of the French Revolution, the emptying and burning of tea ships before the American Revolution, the Gold Rush, and the lynching-bee are examples of mob activity. Mobs easily develop when strongly conflicting interests and ideas prevail through the proximity of two races, rival political parties, distinct social classes, or distinct religions. Under these conditions the members of a group are strongly united by their distrust and dislike of the members of the opposing group.

The more rational a person is, the less likely he is to be swept away by a crowd. To be able to mingle with a crowd and not lose one's own judgment and moral scruples is the mark of a highly developed mind.

Standards of Social Distinction. The individual not only seeks to win social approval by conformity; he

also longs to achieve distinction, to be admired by others because he has in some way shown superiority. As social distinction can only be secured in ways approved by the group, and to which they attach importance, the setting up of standards of distinction becomes an agency of social control. If society admires bodily perfection, as among the Spartans, every youth will devote himself to athletics and physical training. If tattooing is admired, the man most willing to endure the pain of the tattoo needle will achieve distinction.

Beauty of face has always been honored, but all peoples have not agreed as to what constitutes facial perfection. The Ugandas favor the insertion of a disc into the upper lip to make a plate-like extension. By using successively larger discs the Uganda young people vie with one another to be known as the most beautiful. Birth into the ruling or leisure class is one of the easiest methods of winning distinction; even a very stupid or ugly person so born may be admired and looked up to.

Wealth has, in nearly every group, been a sure way to achieve honor. To prove his right to this distinction the wealthy man may indulge in *conspicuous consumption* — the ostentatious use of expensive articles of dress, ornament, diet, furnishing, and of extravagant modes of housing, pleasure-seeking, travel, and entertainment. He may gladly pay twice its worth for an article with the trademark of an exclusive maker. He may prefer to sit in a box at the opera because there he can be seen by everyone, although he cannot see the stage so well as from the orchestra.

Poorer people often foolishly ape the same standards, spending their money where it can be seen and stinting themselves in private. They suffer acutely if their dress is less fashionable, their style of living visibly less costly than that of their associates. Most of us are unconsciously guilty of buying some things for their prestige

value rather than because they will be actually useful to us. A generation ago no home was thought complete without a piano, and the most unmusical child submitted to music lessons because it was "genteel" to do so. Many persons would not be seen driving an old-model car, and for this very reason the makers take care each year to adopt style changes which will cause the newest model to be recognized at once. Similarly the following of any fashion is an attempt to secure distinction.

The idea that work is disgraceful and idleness a virtue originated in a hereditary leisure class, which advocated this notion in order to maintain its privileges. It has no rightful place in a democracy, yet he who enjoys conspicuous leisure is sure of winning approval from those who admire wealth in whatever form. The Chinese gentleman formerly let his fingernails grow into grotesque long claws, protected from breaking by golden cases. This proved, of course, that he never did any work. A similar idea, not carried to so great an extreme, explains the long pointed fingernails that are fashionable today. Many a shopgirl wastes energy trying to imitate this silly fad. The vogue for extremely high and peg-like shoe heels is another instance of the desire to advertise conspicuous leisure. Unfortunately, shoes designed for ladies who need scarcely take a step are also worn by working women who must remain on their feet for hours every day.

Americans frequently seek public notice in the newspapers. They love to see their names in print. That this is a commendable ambition is taught by publicity men, some of whom earn a living by thinking of ingenious methods by which their clients can achieve notoriety. It is interesting to note that persons whose high social standing is unquestioned affect the reverse. Instead of seeking publicity, they study to avoid it. Men who aspire to political leadership generally think it necessary

to keep constantly in the public eye. Their photographs in unusual costumes and places are often in the newspapers. If they gauge public opinion correctly, this would seem to indicate that our citizens select a candidate for office less on his record and his program than because of his talent for securing publicity.

Social distinction frequently misses altogether the true servants and benefactors of mankind. Perhaps the usual fate of genius is to die unrecognized by its contemporaries. Many a good painter, poet, and musician has lived and died in pitiful obscurity. The prophet is proverbially without honor. Persons of saintly life are, in our day, unlikely to receive honor. The scholar, outside his own restricted circle of the learned, has little social standing. The public, often failing to recognize the best and the wisest, easily rewards the spectacular.

Fortunately, our society is composed of many groups, and not all have the same standards. Today more than ever before, persons having the same interests and standards are kept in touch with each other by their own associations and publications. From civic and social welfare organizations it is possible for the distinguished social servant to secure the acclaim which the general public will probably never give him. Associations of artists sponsor exhibitions where unknown members may perhaps secure recognition. With the growing number of music lovers in the United States, there is now more hope than formerly that gifted composers will not die from poverty and neglect. The annual prizes awarded by foundations for distinguished achievement in such fields as writing, composing, news reporting, social service, and research represent a thoughtful attempt to encourage lines of endeavor which rarely receive public recognition. Perhaps these awards will tend to establish new standards for measuring achievement.

WORD STUDY

conspicuous consumption	folklore	mob
crowd	imitation	social control
etiquette	interaction	suggestion
fashion	manners	

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What is social control? Illustrate.
2. Name and explain the two basic processes of social control.
3. What kind of person is most influenced by advertising?
4. What does their folklore reveal about a people?
5. In what kind of society has folklore ceased to live? Why?
6. What is the purpose of ceremony?
7. Explain the reason for requiring school children frequently to salute and pledge allegiance to the flag.
8. Why are not good manners identical in all societies?
9. Among civilized people, what are some of the basic tests of good manners? How are good manners acquired?
10. What is the historical origin of etiquette?
11. Discuss the significance of etiquette as an instrument of social control (1) in a caste society, (2) in a democracy.
12. Some kinds of socially valuable behavior have little chance to receive early recognition. Illustrate.
13. What is meant by conspicuous consumption? Conspicuous leisure?
14. What is a crowd? Why does an individual easily abandon himself in it?
15. What is a mob? Give examples of mob action.

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Prepare a report on "Food Etiquette around the World." *Are We Civilized?* by R. H. Lowie is a helpful reference.
2. Learn and tell a Paul Bunyan story.
3. Sing, or read, a Cumberland Mountain ballad or some other American folk song recently written down for the first time.
4. Write a brief account of the Children's Crusade.

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5. List the national heroes, stories of whose lives have most influenced the people of the United States.
6. List several ceremonies, and in parallel columns put the symbols used in each and the attitudes which each is meant to establish.
7. Show how symbolism is being made use of in Germany and in Soviet Russia in the attempt to achieve cultural uniformity.
8. What agencies can convert a whole nation into a crowd?
9. How does the cinema act as an agency of social control?

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CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CONTROL THROUGH MORALS, LAWS, AND ETHICS

Do taboos operate in our society?

Why does conscience not make everyone do right?

When did law first emerge? Do judges make law?

Why do modern men depend more on law than on morals to guide them?

Why can law never accomplish all the tasks of social control?

What is the task of ethics?

AS SOCIETY develops, it seems driven more and more to the final source of social security . . . ethical control.

R. M. MACIVER

IN THIS chapter we shall deal with agencies of social control which are more self-conscious and more formal than those which we have already considered. These, too, depend on imitation and suggestion, but they are deliberately taught, and are enforced by much more definite and painful measures than in the case of ceremonies, manners, standards of distinction, fashion, and crowd-mindedness. First we shall consider how morals have arisen from custom, then how law has separated from morals, and finally how ethics has arisen from morals and law.

Morals and Taboos. Morals are those folkways which a people consider essential to its welfare. They are the *right* ways of behaving in every aspect of life. To disregard them is a serious offense, for which the offender will be punished. The sanction — that is, the penalty — may be more or less severe. The mildest sanction is disapproval, which may be shown by harsh looks and

words and by avoidance of the offender. The penalty may take the form of ridicule. Or, if the guilty act is felt to be an offense against the spirit world, the sanction may involve purification — a removal of the sinfulness by penance, fasting, or sacrifice. If purification does not satisfy the group, the offender may face public exposure, as in the stocks, the loss of rank, rights, or property, exile, imprisonment, mutilation, torture, or death.

Morals are related to group welfare and stability. They are nearly always stated in terms of prohibitions — “Thou-shalt-nots” — to which the name *taboo* is given. Taboos are the prohibitions of actions thought to be harmful to public health, established religion, family relations, property, and other social interests. The infringement of a taboo carries an automatic, self-inflicted penalty. The guilty person is regarded, *and regards himself*, as unclean. He suffers not only from social disapproval but from a deep-seated fear that he will sooner or later be punished by sickness, ill fortune, or death. It is not unusual for a savage who has violated a taboo, even by accident, to die of fear. No police are necessary for enforcing a taboo, but the sense of outrage may be so strong among the group that the offender will be stoned, mutilated, driven out into the wilderness to starve, or put to death.

Morals at First Identical with Custom. Morals are defined differently by different peoples and at various stages of culture. At first custom and morals were the same. To behave contrary to any custom was to do wrong, to be immoral. The smallest display of individuality was thus discouraged. Experiment with new methods for producing and using objects might be tolerated, but only when it was seen to be harmless. If a new invention was followed by misfortune — a bad storm, perhaps, or an epidemic — it was believed to have incurred the wrath of spirits, and was immediately

abandoned and declared "taboo." In this way primitive peoples often forbade the eating of certain foods which were really wholesome, and the killing of certain animals under any circumstances, as the killing of poisonous snakes is forbidden in India. Primitive taboos cover a great range of harmless actions as well as some that are actually injurious. A tribe in East Africa forbids the eating of meat and drinking of milk on the same day; it would not only make the eater sick but the cow also. The Eskimo forbid the eating of venison with seal flesh, for fear that the sea-goddess will keep the seals from approaching the settlement. In some tribes men and women are forbidden to take their meals together, and it may also be taboo for them to use the same dishes.

Morals Tend to Be Reduced to Manners. It was a considerable advance when society differentiated some taboos as more important than others. The less important taboos gradually lost their moral meaning, becoming only manners, fashions, and technological methods. Experimentation in the non-moral field was not regarded as dangerous, although it might still be thought queer or silly and bring ridicule and avoidance. Invention, even in the material culture, continued to be frowned on, unless its advantages could be seen at once. Traces of this attitude were still evident in the early years of the Industrial Revolution. Robert Fulton was subjected to ridicule and insults when his steamboat first appeared on the Hudson. The early builders of locomotives were thought impious, and so were the early builders of aircraft.

The tendency as culture advances is for more and more of the taboos to be reduced to the level of manners. This allows for experimentation by individuals, and thus promotes invention. Still more important, it fosters the growth of individuality. Among taboos in our culture

which are rapidly becoming a question of manners may be mentioned: speaking evil of the dead, wearing bright attire at a funeral, noisy conduct in a church, engaging in business transactions on Sunday, and appearing on the street at a resort in a bathing suit.

Americans still preserve many taboos, some of which are useful and some of which do not possess any real utility. We would not, for instance, think of eating a chicken in the shell, a snake, a grub, or the flesh of a dog, rat, or horse, although these are relished in some parts of the world. So long as a taboo seems necessary for the social welfare, it will be maintained. We continue to feel great respect for the ancient taboo against opening a new grave (which has helped prevent the spread of disease), against killing female game in the breeding season, and against eating an animal which has died from natural causes.

New Taboos May Arise. New taboos are adopted when society agrees upon their importance. The eating of human flesh has now become taboo in all societies. Brutality of every kind is gradually being made taboo. In our society the cruel treatment of a child, the beating of a wife or a parent, and violence toward a sick or aged or crippled person are becoming taboo. The expectant or nursing mother has always received special protection from the taboos, and these taboos tend to increase.

Morals are determined more by tradition than by reason. Even murder has not been universally condemned. In an early herding people only the life of adult members of one's own family was sacred. Among primitive tribes where food was extremely scarce, it was moral to kill one's aged grandparents when they were no longer of use. War captives and strangers were always put to death until slavery arose. Until late in history the killing of unwanted infants was not taboo.

Until a few centuries ago in Europe a father had the power of life and death over his children; if they seriously misbehaved it was right for him to kill them. The power of life and death over slaves has been exercised in modern times. Duelling has become taboo in the United States but still flourishes in Germany. There seems to be a trend toward forbidding the killing of a human being under any circumstances. Some states, for instance, have abolished the death penalty; and some groups of people, like the Friends, have declared themselves to be conscientiously opposed to military service. It is increasingly felt that the state has no right to take human life. When all the people feel the same way, a new taboo will have been established.

Conscience. The still small voice that tells an individual what is right and what is wrong is the inward response to taboo. It is acquired early in life from those with whom the child grows up, and becomes an automatic regulator of his conduct. Almost wholly the product of imitation and suggestion, it reflects the morals actually observed by the child's parents and teachers. When his parents are immoral, the child may learn very imperfectly the taboos of his group. His conscience will then be a confused and uncertain guide.

It was said earlier in the chapter that the taboo carries an automatic penalty. The automatic penalty operates through the individual's conscience. When he infringes a taboo his conscience accuses him of wrongdoing. He feels that others will respect him less, and he therefore respects himself less. He is anxious to make amends through some ceremony of purification, some act of penance or sacrifice which will divert the wrath of the spirit world and of his group. The modern man may be able to set himself right again with society, and in his own eyes, by a simple act of apology or a promise not to repeat the offense. But he may feel such a

compulsion to make amends that he is never able to do enough to overcome his sense of guilt. This is likely to be the case when the harm done is permanent. Conscience has driven many a murderer to give himself up, even to welcome punishment by death to escape the torture of self-accusation.

Conscience cannot be developed by instruction alone, nor can it ever be acquired when childhood is past. It is deeply rooted in the child's early experiences in the standards of behavior which he is required to obey and which the adults around him invariably obey. If it is to be an automatic guide, it must be strongly impressed upon the child's mind. The individual must feel that all decent people uphold the standards which he is expected to uphold; if they do not, he will cease to uphold them once he is free of coercion. Example is vastly more effective than precept. At school the child may be instructed as to standards of honesty and truthfulness, but if he sees his parents using slugs instead of nickels in a subway turnstile, or if they lie in his presence, their example is likely to outweigh what his teachers tell him. No agency can ever replace the home in moral training. Fortunately, however, other agencies for moral training can supplement and refine the training begun in the home.

Customary Law. The sociologist often speaks of law as if it were the same as the taboos of a people. In the early stages of culture there was no other law except *customary law*. The group was so small that right behavior could easily be enforced on every member. No one could hide from the wrath or the ridicule of the group. Privacy did not exist. The group was everything, the individual nothing. Moreover, as the manner of life was extremely simple, few choices were possible. Since there was little division of labor and only one accepted religion, the moral code applied pretty well

to all situations which might arise. If a crisis occurred in the life of the tribe, a new taboo might be established, or other new customs decided upon, and the entire group henceforth would abide by them. Primitive societies are much more law-abiding than civilized societies. Whatever is believed essential to the welfare of a particular group is incorporated in its morals, and is then scrupulously followed by all its members. Customary law is imposed and enforced by the entire group; it is not delegated to police or any other officials.

Injuries to the person or to private property were for a long time not considered an injury to the community as a whole. When anyone injured a member of another family, the matter was settled between the two families concerned. Satisfaction consisted of inflicting an equivalent injury upon the culprit or one of his kin, on the principle of an eye for an eye, an ox for an ox, and a life for a life. At a later stage of culture a fine known as a "blood fine" might be paid by the family of the guilty man to the injured family. Very much later the injury was considered to have been done to the tribe or to the chief, and the fine was then paid to him.

When the injury was felt to affect the whole community (as an act of sacrilege, spying upon a secret society, or a breaking of the marriage taboos), the offender himself must be made to suffer by torture, mutilation, being driven forth into the wilderness, or by death. Sometimes by rites of purification or other ceremonies the evil results of the offense could, it was thought, be warded off, and then the guilty person would not be punished further. This, by limiting the power to punish, was an advance in culture.

The Emergence of Legal Procedure. As groups grew larger, retaliation between families created too much disorder. It was felt necessary to restrict the right of one family to punish another. The first step was the

designation of go-betweens to settle the differences between opposing families and to arrange punishment or compensation. Eventually the medicine men, the chief, or the council of elders took over the responsibility of determining if a wrong had been committed and what punishment or payment should be demanded. This was accompanied by a tendency to consider that all crimes were crimes against the community instead of against a single injured family. Slowly there grew up a body of rules for legal procedure, and this marked the origin of political law. Political law is enforced by a central authority — the government.

It is interesting to note that the question of the intent behind a guilty act did not arise until very late in history. A person who accidentally caused the death of another was held to be just as guilty as if he had planned the murder in cold blood. He never thought of excusing himself on the ground that it had not been intentional. If he had fallen out of a tree upon somebody, he might be sentenced to stand under the same tree and have the injured person or his representative fall on him. If he had accidentally killed a child with an arrow, then the child's father was expected to kill the child of the offender, or, if the offender was childless, some other member of the offender's family.

When society began to distinguish between deliberate and unintentional wrongdoing, culture was thereby advanced. Magic played a large part in the earliest methods for determining guilt. Trial by ordeal was a widely accepted institution until the end of the Middle Ages. A suspected witch, for instance, might be thrown into a pond. If she sank, she was innocent, and attempt would be made to rescue her. If she floated, she was guilty and must be put to death. Trial by combat arose during the medieval period. The accused person, or a representative, could establish innocence by defeat-



TRIAL BY COMBAT

ing the accuser in a public combat with deadly weapons. Trial by jury is a comparatively modern institution.

The Written Law. During a period of rapid cultural change, the established morals or taboos no longer cover all the situations which arise. There is confusion as to what kind of actions are opposed to the social welfare. Old morals begin to lose their authority, and new ones are dimly felt to be necessary. At such times the laws of a people are first written down. The first written law is the Code of Hammurabi, king of Babylonia, proclaimed in the twenty-first century B.C. Like every code established since, it was a summary of prevailing morals, with some of the inconsistencies removed and some of the known gaps filled in.

The body of law is always being enlarged to meet new situations. This may be done by the decree of a ruler, by statute of a legislative body, or by interpretation of the existing laws by administrators and by judges. A

tax collector is, for instance, appointed to carry out the provisions of a tax law. As he works out a procedure to apply to all the cases with which he has to deal, some of which were not anticipated at the time the statute was written, he is, in a sense, actually making law. He is authorized by the statute, we will say, to collect one fourth of every farmer's crop of grain. Shall he insist on a fourth in the case of a farmer whose crop was spoiled by hail or by his neighbor's cattle and is insufficient to keep his family from starvation? Shall he make a thorough search of the premises when he believes some of the grain has been concealed? Shall he offer a reward to informers? No statute can ever be sufficiently detailed to furnish a complete guide to the men who must administer it and to the judges who must interpret its application to particular cases.

Theoretically, judges do not make law. They only interpret the law and apply it to the cases before them. When the statutory law does not cover the case under consideration, the court will consult legal tradition and precedent. In the English-speaking world there is a great body of legal tradition known as the *common law*. It consists of the recorded decisions reached by courts in every English-speaking country. It is always growing. It has tended to unify judicial practices wherever English is spoken. In the long run the common law is more important than the differences of statutes in the various states, since each new statute will be interpreted in accordance with precedent.

A statute which does not meet the approval of the majority of the people, or at least of a considerable and influential minority, will not be enforceable. It will be violated so often that the courts cannot deal with all the offenders. Because the people generally will not help in apprehending the guilty, even a large number of police will be insufficient to insure that it is obeyed.

Besides, in the process of interpreting the statute and applying it to particular cases, the common law will have to be consulted, and thus tradition and precedent will tend to modify the statute and bring it more into accord with existing practice. Law comes, in the final analysis, from the morals of the group. It cannot be created by the decree of a sovereign, not even by a legislature, if the majority of the people are opposed to it.

The making of a new statute does, however, often win the support of a majority in correcting some evil which has arisen from changed conditions. When breadmaking began to leave the home for the small bakery, it was found necessary to prohibit bakers from living and sleeping in the same rooms where they made the bread. Naturally most of the people saw the importance of this regulation as soon as their attention was called to the matter, and the new statute soon had the full weight of public opinion behind it. A statute prohibiting an old and well-established custom, such as the drinking of alcoholic beverages, cannot be enforced unless it is strongly supported by most of the people. The task of securing this support belongs to education; it cannot be successfully assumed by a law-making body.

The Rule of Law. The ideal of all democratic peoples is to make law supreme. This means that all those who wield governmental powers are not free to follow their own wills, but must act upon accepted principles and must follow reason. According to this doctrine the government or the king rules under law and cannot make law. It intends that government shall be a government of laws and not of men; that the individual prejudices of officers and judges shall not block justice. This is a noble ideal, which has had a powerful influence on democratic government. So long as the rule of law prevails in a country, a despotism or dictatorship cannot be established. (But note that even a dictator must

continually seek the support of public opinion. See pp. 521-522 and 532-534.)

The early leaders of our nation were eager to insure that in the United States law should always be supreme. They created the Constitution in order to define and limit the powers of the states and of the federal government. The Supreme Court, under the theory of judicial approval, took to itself the function of deciding whether any state or federal statute is in accordance with the Constitution. A written constitution, especially when the process for changing it is very slow and difficult, may at times delay needed adjustments to altered conditions. As with other institutions, its form tends to be regarded as of more importance than its essential spirit and meaning. Conservatives resent any alteration of the form by amendment, even when progressive people argue that the proposed change is in keeping with its true intention and purpose.

It should, however, be observed that in times of crisis, as in war, the people of a nation voluntarily allow their rulers to assume vast powers, even to setting aside, for the time being, portions of the constitution. Thus individual liberties, and those of the press and of assembly, were sharply curtailed here during the World War. In Germany a crisis resulting from a prolonged and very severe depression persuaded the people to surrender their liberties and their entire written constitution to the Nazi dictatorship.

The sociologist recognizes that, even under the best of conditions, the rule of law has never functioned perfectly. Justice has always had a long and difficult struggle against personal, class, and race bias in administrators and in judges. No individual can ever be strictly impartial, for he is at all times influenced by the ideas of his own party, class, and race. Historians cite the Dred Scott case as proof that not even the

Supreme Court can detach itself from sectional and partisan influences. Seven members of the Supreme Court were, at the time of this famous decision, known to be favorable to slaveholding, and it is not surprising that they interpreted the law in such a way as to please slaveholders.

The Increasing Importance of Political Law. Morals are continually depleted by two processes — the reduction of the less important to the rank of manners, and the elevation of the more important, or the more universally agreed upon, to the rank of political law. These two processes operate rapidly under modern conditions. Because in an industrial society the whole material and nonmaterial structure is undergoing change, morals, like all other social controls which depend on tradition, tend to lose authority. Science, which has taught men to question all authority, has likewise weakened the supernatural sanctions which formerly upheld morals. Modern men, for the most part, do not believe that demons, ghosts, or gods are waiting to punish whoever violates a taboo. Moreover, science has encouraged men to question the taboos themselves. Those which do not appear useful, and many others whose genuine usefulness is not easily proved, are disregarded so often that they cease to be taboos at all and become manners.

The disappearance of strong neighborhood ties is another cause of the weakening of morals. It is in the family and the small community that morals are most strongly enforced by public disapproval and by ridicule of the offender. In the large city, with its shifting population and its many racial and nationality groups, the sense of public disapproval is almost lost. The individual can do pretty much as he pleases; nobody inquires as to his personal life. Even if the public could inform itself as to his conduct, there would be disagree-

ment as to wherein he had violated the taboos. Except on a few simple and spectacular kinds of wrongdoing, the people of a great city do not strongly agree on what is essential to social welfare. They have come from many localities and many parts of the earth, each with its own set of traditional morals, and no set seems entirely to meet the needs of life in a modern city. Nothing could more obviously endanger the social welfare than to build apartment houses without fire escapes, yet this was never felt to be a concern of morals. Perhaps in time it would have become so, but the cities could not wait. Statutes or ordinances were passed, and a system of paid inspection was set up, to require all dwellings to have fire escapes. Public opinion at once approved these statutes; therefore they have been easily enforced; but they are not yet felt to be a matter of morals. It would appear that in a rapidly changing society moral codes are entirely inadequate. They grow too slowly and do not enforce themselves as in a stable, uniform society. Social control must depend increasingly on the political law supported by the more enlightened section of the population.

The Inadequacy of Law. The law can only determine men's outward behavior, never the inner attitude. It can compel men to attend church and to go through the acts of worship, but it cannot make them worship. It can require children to support their aged parents, but it cannot make the children feel concerned for their parents' comfort and happiness. It can declare the employer responsible for injuries to his employees, but it cannot create a true attitude of responsibility for the employees' welfare. It can punish the workman who is seen to destroy his employer's property, but it cannot compel the worker to give a full day's labor for a full day's pay. Law can never accomplish all the tasks of social control.

Associational Law. Every institution has rules and standards of its own. These differ from political laws in that submission is voluntary and cannot be compelled. The institution can only expel from membership or withdraw its privileges from the disobedient. A person who has a checking account at a bank must, for instance, abide by the rules of the bank or lose the privilege. A student may be expelled from school or college for breaking its regulations. Similarly a church, a club, an athletic team, a business men's association, a medical association, or a patriotic society may refuse to continue the membership of one who ignores its standards and violates its rules. The term *associational law* may be given to the rules of any organization in which membership is voluntary. Naturally any individual who wishes the benefits of such an organization will conform willingly to its regulations. If the regulations seem to be poorly adapted to their purpose, there is usually some recognized procedure for bringing about a change.

Frequently, the standards and objectives of the various associations to which an individual belongs are not harmonious. He is torn by allegiance to competing standards. As a member of a labor union, for example, he may find himself in conflict with the obligations he is expected to feel toward his family, his church, or his fraternity. The medical practitioner must adhere to rules which possibly may not seem to him to promote the best interests of the public. Again and again the standards of various groups in modern society seem to be antagonistic. It is impossible to conform to them all, or indeed to more than a few at any one time.

Many associations — trade unions, chambers of commerce, veterans' organizations, professional groups, etc. — frankly represent the particular interests of their own membership. They are called "interest groups," and are often in opposition to each other and to groups which

seek to promote the total public interest. The individual, pulled this way and that by his various memberships, and by the propaganda of associations to which he does not belong, is confused and uncertain. How shall he deal with these conflicting pressures?

What is missing in our society is a clear understanding of wherein the public interest lies. When men see the road on which society is to travel, they can direct their affairs in harmony with the trend of the times. They will not care to remain in any association which seeks to benefit at the expense of the public. Our society does not lack good will so much as it lacks understanding of the maladjustments to be corrected and the goals toward which to drive.

The Emergence of Ethics. Since history began to be written, there have been gifted individuals who understood the needs of society more clearly than did the mass of the people. Such men have always felt the inadequacy of the prevailing morals, and have sought to make the people aware of new values. In particular they have cried out that the spirit and not the letter is the life of true morality. "Man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath was made for man." Jesus was one of a long line of Hebrew prophets who tried to arouse the people to a higher type of morality. He drew upon himself the enmity of the priests because they did not want the ancient taboos to be questioned, refined, or reinterpreted. They, like all conservatives, felt that the precise fulfillment of the old rules was sufficient. Jesus taught that the whole law and the prophets were contained in two precepts — "Love thy God," and "Love thy neighbor." It is significant that these commands are not cast in the traditional form of "Thou shalt not." Repeatedly accused of attempting to break down the ancient Hebrew law, he declared, "I come not to destroy but to fulfill."



MOSES RECEIVES THE TEN COMMANDMENTS
FOR THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL

This is always the task of ethics. It is an attempt to refine and to restate the true values of morality. It insists that the outward form of righteousness is not enough, that the inner attitude must also be righteous. It teaches the meaning behind the law that people will obey it from choice and not from fear. The ethical person does what he believes to be right not because others expect it of him but because he expects it of himself. He holds to the highest code he knows, regardless of any external sanctions imposed by the community. By allegiance to the highest values he finds his truest satisfaction. He imposes obligations on himself which the law cannot impose on the people at large because they are not yet sufficiently enlightened. He is not torn by conflicting allegiances, for his loyalty is always given to the larger good. Before him is the

vision of a society united by the appreciation of its common interests, its common goals, in which all groups will seek and work for the welfare of the whole.

WORD STUDY

associational law	customary law	rule of law
blood fine	ethics	statutory law
common law	interest group	taboo
conscience	morals	trial by ordeal
	political law	

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Moral judgment may be expressed against invention. Explain.
2. Illustrate the extension of the taboo against killing.
3. Conscience is largely the product of what two processes? At what period of life is it formed? Explain the importance of this fact.
4. What is the automatic penalty carried by a taboo?
5. Why are primitive societies extremely law-abiding?
6. What are typical steps in the origin of legal procedure?
7. What was the main purpose of early forms of punishment?
8. Why are morals inadequate in a changing society?
9. Do administrators make law? Explain.
10. Do judges make law? Explain.
11. What is the rule of law? Is it ever voluntarily suspended? Explain. Why does it not function perfectly?
12. Since law must have the support of the people, how can a new statute be assured of success?
13. Differentiate between the statutory and the common law. Which is more important?
14. Why do we have so many interest groups? What is needed to harmonize their activities?
15. Why should ethics be considered the highest type of social control?
16. Why does the law not always express the most advanced ideas of right and wrong?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Prepare a report on early codes of law.
2. Prepare a report on trial by ordeal and by combat in medieval times.
3. Prepare a report on the traces of Roman law to be found in our legal system.
4. Find examples of famous cases which illustrate the unconscious bias of judges. Perhaps some lawyer friend will help.
5. Enumerate taboos that are still respected in our society. Can you think of any that are of relatively recent origin?
6. In a modern society why is law inadequate for complete social control? What else is needed?
7. When does a statute prove to be enforceable? Give examples.
8. Give examples of conflicts in associational law.
9. Can you cite advanced moral ideas held by small, select groups in our society? How are individuals acting in accordance with these ideas regarded by the public at large?
10. Can you think of morals that are needed but not yet established among workmen? Among employers?
11. What is the individual's responsibility toward the betterment of the morality of his community?

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UNIT



THE AMAZING ADAPTABILITY OF HUMAN NATURE

CHAPTER V. THE NATIVE ELEMENTS OF HUMAN NATURE. The reflexes. The wish for response, security, new experience, and prestige. Two basic emotions: fear-anger; love. The importance of habit; its relationship to custom and to social change.

CHAPTER VI. HOW PERSONALITY IS FORMED. The conditioning process: in dogs; in human beings. The formation of emotional habits; the origin of symbols; the sentiments; the attitudes.

CHAPTER VII. THE MALADJUSTED PERSONALITY. The mature and immature personality. Mechanisms by which people adjust themselves to difficulties: defense, compensation, withdrawal. Mental disorders: the neuroses; the psychoses; treatment. Social deviants.

CHAPTER V

THE NATIVE ELEMENTS OF HUMAN NATURE

Is human behavior determined by instincts?

What four desires appear to be common to all human beings?

Are we born with inherited emotional patterns?

Wherein is the power to form habits of great advantage to man?

Are there disadvantages?

Why must social change depend upon the young?

SINCE HUMAN NATURE is so adaptable, so rich in potentialities, so accommodating, since the young life can be trained in any of so many diverse skills and capacities, the formation of habits is of supreme importance in education.

R. M. MACIVER

HUMAN nature can adapt itself to a multitude of different environments and in endless ways. That is why so many kinds of cultures have arisen in the various parts of the earth. Because the human mind is so adaptable, it is molded by the patterns of the society in which it develops. Any normal baby, regardless of its parentage, is certain to learn the ways of those who bring it up. That is what we mean by the amazing adaptability of human nature.

Yet human behavior is not entirely learned. There are some inborn behavior patterns. It is necessary to understand what these inborn patterns are before we decide whether a better society is possible.

Man's Unlearned Behavior

The Reflexes. A reflex is a native or original element of human nature. Human beings possess a number of very simple, unlearned reactions known as *reflexes*. Some are present at birth, such as sucking, swallowing,

crying when hungry, and rejecting distasteful substances from the mouth. Shortly after birth various protective reflexes appear, such as the eye wink, knee jerk, coughing, and withdrawal of the hand from painful, hot, or cold stimuli. A few other reflexes appear later as the organs with which they are associated mature.

Among the reflexes are certain physical tensions — hunger, thirst, the need to eliminate, and the obscure restlessness which is produced by hormones from the reproductive organs. The management of these tensions in the socially approved ways is a primary task in each individual's education. The way they shall be satisfied is determined by custom, and varies widely in different societies. The character of the individual depends on how well he learns to control them and the emotions which arise when their satisfaction is delayed or blocked.

Training in the control of these tensions begins in babyhood. For example, the baby is taught to eat on schedule; he has to learn that he cannot eat whenever he feels hungry, but must sustain the craving for food until the proper time arrives.

The reproductive tension is present in varying degrees throughout life. It is the drive behind the wish for response and companionship. In the baby it produces the desire to be held and cuddled, but after a while he learns to be equally well satisfied with smiles and affectionate words. Little by little as he grows up he finds in social give-and-take, in friendship, in self-expression through music and the arts, in the imaginative companionship of books, and in religion the outlet for the same craving. What is chiefly remarkable about this and the other tensions is that they can be expressed in so many different ways. Although they are rooted in the depths of original nature, they are, within wide limits, subject to social control.

Do Human Beings Have Instincts? For centuries it

was thought that human beings had instincts which determined all or most of their behavior. Their social activities were said to be determined by these inborn patterns. Curiosity, gregariousness, kindness, pugnacity, cunning, miserliness, collecting, hunting, and a long list of other traits were considered instinctive. Institutions like private property, polygamy, and warfare were thought to have grown out of the instincts. This idea led to an attitude of fatalism, and discouraged any attempt to improve human nature or institutions.

Anthropologists (students of traditional behavior) have shown, however, that it is culture and not instinct which determines man's social behavior. Various groups of people have found very different ways of satisfying human nature. In some societies there is no private property except ornaments and weapons; in other societies nearly all property is private. There are several types of marriage, and it is known that the same peoples have sometimes followed one system and sometimes another. Incessant warfare characterized the relations of patriarchal families and of small hunting tribes; yet if warfare is instinctive, how has the peace group grown to include a people as numerous as that of the United States? Mother-love, which would appear to be instinctive if anything is, does not prevent the women of many primitive tribes from killing their babies to secure social approval. What of the "instinct" to avoid pain? In most primitive societies the men cheerfully undergo prolonged torture to prove their courage, or to acquire bodily scars or mutilations thought desirable by their group.

Anthropologists believe that if human beings have any instincts, these will be expressed only in ways which society permits. Social control is therefore immeasurably more important than original nature. If we use the term instinct at all in connection with man,

we must limit it to the tendency to respond to certain kinds of stimuli in preference to others. For instance, men seem naturally to prefer the less bulky and more concentrated foodstuffs. They do not eat grass and coarse plants unless driven to do so. Similarly, they naturally seek shelter from inclement weather, but the kind of shelter they will build or whether they will build any depends entirely upon their culture.

Psychologists have reached a like conclusion. They have shown that nearly all human behavior is learned. By carefully controlling the environment of the young child they can shape his interests and attitudes and arouse or eradicate his fears. They can make him curious or incurious, gregarious or solitary, a hunter or a protector of animals, a miser or a spendthrift, kindly or cruel, and so through an endless list of characteristics. Modern psychology finds little evidence that man possesses instinctive patterns of behavior of the kind possessed by animals. Apparently man only possesses instinctive tendencies to act. Human nature is therefore extremely plastic and can be readily modified by training.

The Four Wishes. Seeking to avoid the word instinct, the newer sociologists have studied human nature as an attempt to satisfy certain wishes or desires. The wishes are thought to be native to all men, but how they shall be satisfied depends entirely on the customs of the group. The wishes are not always stated in exactly the same terms, but the commonest, and perhaps most helpful and workable, classification is as follows:

(1) *The Desire for Security.* This basic urge expresses itself in the desire for food and shelter, and for safety — from enemies, injury, disease, degradation, and premature death — not only for oneself but for one's family. It is the fundamental drive behind agriculture, industry, medicine, and home-making. It leads men to build



SECURITY, LOVE, ADVENTURE, ACHIEVEMENT

houses, hospitals, factories, banks, railroads, weapons, prisons, forts, and battleships. In our society the individual dominated by this desire is likely to be cautious, apprehensive, eager to accumulate property, and to provide for old age. Security, to most people, depends on remaining among the people and things to which they are accustomed. It is a very powerful drive, and most individuals spend the greater part of their energy in the attempt to satisfy it. So long as insecurity is felt, little pleasure comes from the satisfaction of any other wishes.

(2) *The Desire for Response.* The wish for response is the wish for love and fellowship — from one's own sex, the opposite sex, and from children. It is thought to arise from the sex tensions with which all human beings are endowed from birth. It causes men to seek the company of others, and leads to their association in families, and in recreation, religion, ceremonies, and other

social activities. Some individuals desire response more strongly than do others, but everyone is conscious of this need every day of his life. It is associated with the emotion of love, which makes the organism more stable and more effective. (The organism is a unit which includes both body and mind. Body and mind are two aspects of one whole and should be considered together.) The need of response encourages men to seek ever wider social relationships, and to elaborate the ways in which people can work and play together. It is this need that leads men into the higher types of religious expression — prayer, meditation, confession, worship — which are attempts to find fellowship with a Supreme Being or with the universe itself.

Any experience of social disapproval or of rejection by those with whom one would associate is a denial of this wish.

(3) *The Desire for New Experience or Stimulation.* Men crave adventure, something that will give a sense of change, excitement, or growth. They long to escape from routine and monotony, and from any situation which no longer offers new stimulation. They want to increase and deepen their experience.

This desire is strongest in youth, and in those not too strongly pursuing the quest for security. It implies motion, action, instability, and progress. In our society it produces a tendency to insist on "living one's own life" regardless of prevailing standards. The sensational press caters to this wish, providing vicarious adventure in the form of "true confessions" and stories of crime. Fiction, drama, the radio, and the cinema help to satisfy the same universal craving for new experience. But imaginary adventure is not for long a satisfactory substitute for real adventure. The craving for thrills and sensation which seems so characteristic of modern society is probably due to the monotony felt by most

people in their workaday lives. Some seek new experience in study, travel, research, exploration, gambling, or meddling. Others turn to drink, drugs, crime, and vice, while some become vagabonds.

(4) *The Desire for Recognition or Prestige.* Every individual craves to stand out in some way from those around him. Once the necessities of life have been obtained, or even earlier, human beings seek to achieve satisfactory social position or *status*. Our society, by encouraging intense competition for social position and for wealth, places extreme emphasis on this particular desire. It often comes to be the controlling drive behind individual behavior. With us this is most often demonstrated by conspicuous consumption; those who spend lavishly are sure of being admired by a large section of society. Fortunately our culture has a variety of other ways to attain prestige. It is possible to secure distinction in sport, exploration, invention, science, and fashion, and to some extent in art and learning, religion, and goodness of character. Other peoples who do not value wealth so much as we do, give still more recognition to other kinds of superiority. Civic virtue, physical perfection, and artistic skill were greatly valued among the Greeks; religious zeal and charity were valued by the early Christians; the honor of one's family is especially valued in China. Whatever the given society values most will determine the way its members will seek to attain superiority.

Recognition is not given equally to both sexes for the same achievements. Young women are expected to show superiority by beauty of face, by fashionable dress, and by popularity with men. Lacking these, a young woman's success in business or a profession is regarded as a second-rate attainment. There has been some change of late in our culture, tending to encourage women to seek distinction in many of the ways formerly open only to men.

Children often seek recognition by being naughty. The temper tantrum is one of the common methods adopted by the child who feels that he is not getting sufficient attention. These undesirable ways of behaving probably indicate that the child has not learned any better ways for getting the recognition that he deeply craves.

Delinquency both in children and in adults is frequently the method chosen for gratifying this same urge. Boasting, bullying, cruelty, and tyranny are other ways of seeking recognition. Very many people exaggerate greatly in talking of their experiences in hope of winning admiration from their listeners. Scarcely anyone in conversation resists the temptation to magnify his illnesses, and even his misfortunes, in order to make himself appear out-of-the-ordinary. Indeed, a large proportion of human behavior is concerned with getting recognition from others in one way or another. The inferior ways are those which, like lying and bullying, give only momentary satisfaction. The better ways are those which, like hard-won skill in trade or a profession, provide real and lasting superiority.

The Variety of Possible Satisfaction. The same action may be an attempt to satisfy more than one of the four wishes. Thus, a boy may enter college in the hope of raising his earning power (security), to make new friends (response), to have new experiences, and to improve his social status. The daring criminal may plan a robbery not only to secure money but also to have adventure, to show his superiority to the law and win the response and recognition of his associates in the underworld.

The theory of the four wishes does not imply that one's life is dominated by one to the exclusion of the others. A particular wish may be stronger at one time of life than at another, and in one individual than another, but all four are continually present in all human beings.

To deny any of the four over a long period is to distort the personality, even to prepare the way for mental disease. Our culture offers innumerable methods for fulfilling each of the wishes. Its variety of vocations and avocations holds out opportunities of satisfaction which no other culture has ever possessed so abundantly. Too much effort, however, is motivated by the desire for security; those who do not feel secure are often unable to enjoy the satisfaction of their other wishes. When our culture is able to provide security, it will also greatly strengthen men in their quest for response, for stimulation, and for a worthy position in society.

The Emotions. Just as human beings were once thought to possess many instincts, they were also thought to have many native emotional patterns. In recent years the experiments of psychologists have indicated that all but the simplest emotional reactions are learned. There seem to be only two basic emotions common to all human beings. One of these is love and the other is the fear-anger emotion.

The Fear-Anger Emotion. The fear-anger emotion, in a baby, is experienced only when he is extremely hungry or uncomfortable, when he is roughly handled, when his arms or legs are held down, when he is dropped or feels the loss of support, when he is cut or pricked, and when he hears a very loud, sharp noise. Until learning has taken place, no other stimuli will call forth this emotion. Nearly all the things which make an adult angry, afraid, or excited are determined not by his original nature but by his experiences.

Early in life the child learns to distinguish situations best met by combat from those best met by running away. It is then possible to describe his emotional disturbance as either anger or fear. If he struggles he is angry, but if he makes movements of avoidance he is afraid. Sometimes the emotion seems to be merely a

state of excitement, as in the tired, irritable child or adult.

The fear-anger emotion has always meant that the muscles are about to be called upon for their utmost expenditure of strength in fighting or in fleeing. Accordingly, as soon as fear or anger is felt, the hormone (chemical messenger) adrenalin is poured into the blood stream, carrying to every body cell the message of danger. The heart beats faster, the breathing is more rapid, the digestive processes cease, and the liver releases its reserves of sugar to supply extra energy to the muscles. For the time being the body is stronger than usual, can fight harder or run faster than ordinarily. The mind, however, works less well in fear and anger. For this reason an angry opponent is not likely to be so effective as the opponent who remains cool and collected. After the emotion subsides, there may be exhaustion, loss of appetite, indigestion, and other physical disturbances, mild or severe.

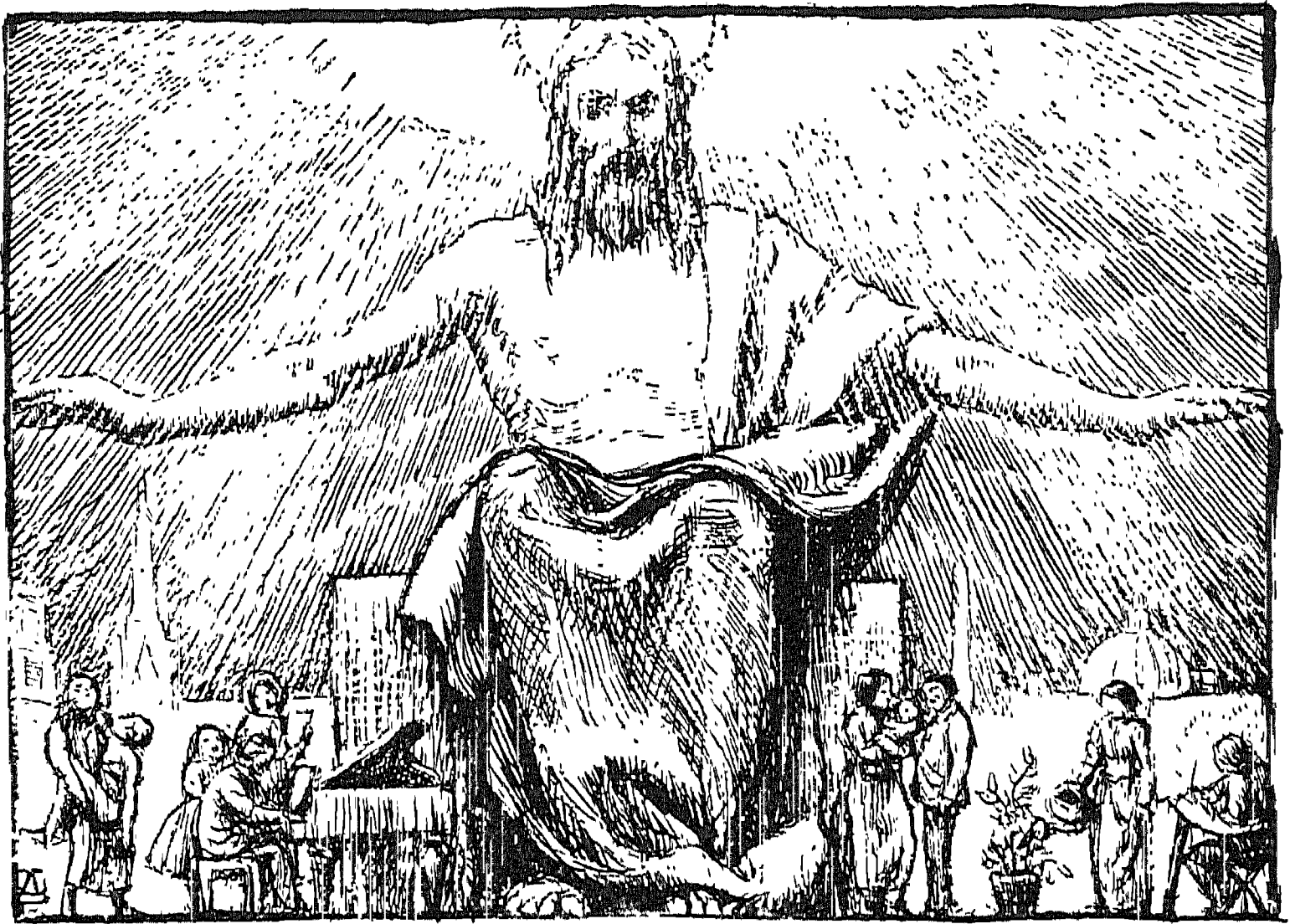
As fighting or fleeing is generally inappropriate for civilized men, we are trained from childhood to hide our emotions — to exercise “self-control.” The outward signs can be concealed, but the inward disturbance is not so easily managed. The body is ready for action and the extra energy must go somewhere. Perhaps the individual will release the tension by shouting or screaming, by pacing the floor, pulling his hair, throwing objects about the room, or running around the block. If he does none of these things, the inward disturbance will probably show in trembling, twitching, or general irritability. A trifling annoyance may call forth the violence which he has been trying to restrain. A certain office manager would discharge his stenographer for any minor omission whenever he had been criticized by his superiors. A parent seething with suppressed anger over a difficulty in business suddenly punishes his child

for something that ordinarily would not be noticed. The cultivated person may succeed in hiding his emotion, but if he feels either anger or fear, the inward disturbance is bound to affect his health. The truest self-control is shown by not feeling anger or fear rather than in trying to suppress their outward symptoms. So far as possible it is better to avoid those situations and encounters which produce fear and anger.

Modern life unfortunately presents endless situations to which the only possible response is fear or anger. The lack of security produces anxiety, a state of long-continued fear. The lack of adequate and regular earnings often blocks deep-seated desires, and thus produces frustration, a kind of long-drawn-out anger. Of course a certain amount of difficulty is stimulating. By arousing just enough but not too much emotion, it causes men to throw their whole energy into meeting or overcoming the obstacle. But obstacles which offer little or no hope of being overcome have no beneficial influence on the mind. If they create anxiety or frustration, they make the individual less effective. Only the calm, confident individual can meet and solve a succession of difficult life problems.

The Love Emotion. In contrast to fear and anger, love is the beneficial emotion. It pervades the organism with a sense of courage, well-being, unity, and harmony, which makes for maximum accomplishment. It encourages the individual to enter freely into social relationships. It helps him to sympathize with and to understand the feelings of others, making it easy for him to take part in their activities.

The baby gives evidence of love when he is gently stroked on his face, throat, chest, or any other sensitive area. This is the native, sensitive-zone response. He soon learns to respond affectionately to the mere presence of his caretaker, the sound of her voice, or to things



SOCIAL CONTROL THROUGH LOVE

that remind him of her. His early experiences of love, or its lack, within his family circle determine whether this side of his nature is to dominate or be dominated by the fear-anger emotion.

Love is the inward state of well-being. It is not felt, except by the fine and mature personality, when any of the physical tensions are uppermost in consciousness. Thus, the baby, when very hungry, thirsty, cold, wet, or uncomfortable, will not respond lovingly to the caresses of his caretaker. Similarly the adult cannot participate fully in friendly and affectionate behavior if any of these tensions are clamoring for satisfaction. Witness the before-breakfast grouch.

Love is the drive behind all affectionate and idealistic behavior — behind every act of sympathy or helpfulness. It finds expression not only in family life and in friendship, but in play, art, religion, and social service. It leads the individual to seek ever more and more social

response. Ethics regards love as the highest value in life, defining the good man as the one who is motivated by love. The good man is sympathetic, kind, trustful, slow to think evil, and slow to take offense. These qualities strengthen, dignify, and enrich all human intercourse. Religious teachers have, with keen insight into the human heart, urged men to love their neighbors and even their enemies. To love one's enemy is to sympathize with his difficulties, to understand why he behaves with hostility, and to forgive him for so doing. To love one's enemy is not a sign of weakness but of intelligence and imagination.

Civilization is marked by an increasing unwillingness to inflict pain. It is decreasing the part played by fear and anger in social control and giving new opportunities for social control through love. It is replacing coercion with co-operation. By widening and refining men's associations, by making them members in a greater society, by encouraging altruism, and by lengthening the life span, civilization encourages love. The true criterion of cultural advance is the extent to which love replaces fear and anger as the motive force of men. From the time when each patriarchal family fought with every other family, when conquered enemies were either killed or made into slaves, when men had the power of life and death over their wives and children, and offenders against taboos were cast into the wilderness to perish, society has made an almost incalculable advance.

The Tendency to Form Habits

Random Movements and How They Become Organized into Habits. We turn now to another part of the human being's unlearned equipment for life — the random movements of the body. These are most conspicuous during infancy. They are the means by which

the muscles are brought under conscious control. They are seemingly purposeless and disconnected gestures, yet they give practice to the nerves and muscles until they learn to act together to accomplish something useful. One of the first achievements of the baby is the ability to turn his head at will. Soon he develops sufficient nervous control and muscular strength to lift his head when he is placed on his stomach. In the second month his facial muscles sometimes produce a smile, but it is several weeks before he can smile purposely. He continually practices leg and arm movements, and by six months of age he is able to grasp and shake a rattle, to crumple paper, and to bang a spoon against a cup. From this time he gains rapidly in the ability to make purposeful movements. By fifteen months of age he is probably able to walk, to push a doll carriage, to feed himself, to handle a pencil, to laugh, to say a number of words, and to perform other acts which require considerable nervous control and muscular coordination. How has this development taken place?

Whenever the child executes a motion which is successful, he feels satisfaction. This encourages him to repeat the action. By repetition he learns a regular, economical way of getting what he wants. At the same time the useless acts which do not help to accomplish his purpose are abandoned. If a bright toy is shown him when he is four or five months old, he will make tentative efforts to reach it. After many unnecessary motions he executes some that are successful. The next time he will make fewer trials and errors, and very soon he will know exactly how to grasp a toy at the first trial. A new physical or motor habit has been acquired. As it is linked with feelings of pleasure due to success and to approval from his family, it is also an emotional response.

Little by little all the random movements are formed

into definite patterns, by which the child gains an ever increasing control over his body. The coos and gurgles, which are the random movements of the vocal organs, at last take the shape of recognizable words of the language spoken by his daily companions.

In learning any new motor habit — swimming, for example — the individual first makes tentative motions, like the random movements of the baby, until by degrees he learns the new ways of using his body. He is guided by the inward feeling of success or failure, which helps him until he can successfully imitate the required actions. When the habit is thoroughly learned, it is seen to be a series of unconscious acts, each act being the signal for the next in the series. Behavior tends to become organized into whole constellations of related habits. The swimmer acquires habits of going to a place to swim, of costuming in a particular way, of seeking the company of certain other swimmers, of staying a given length of time in the water, and otherwise governing himself by an unconscious pattern. Getting dressed or undressed, cleaning a room, running an automobile, riding a bicycle, are typical constellations of habits.

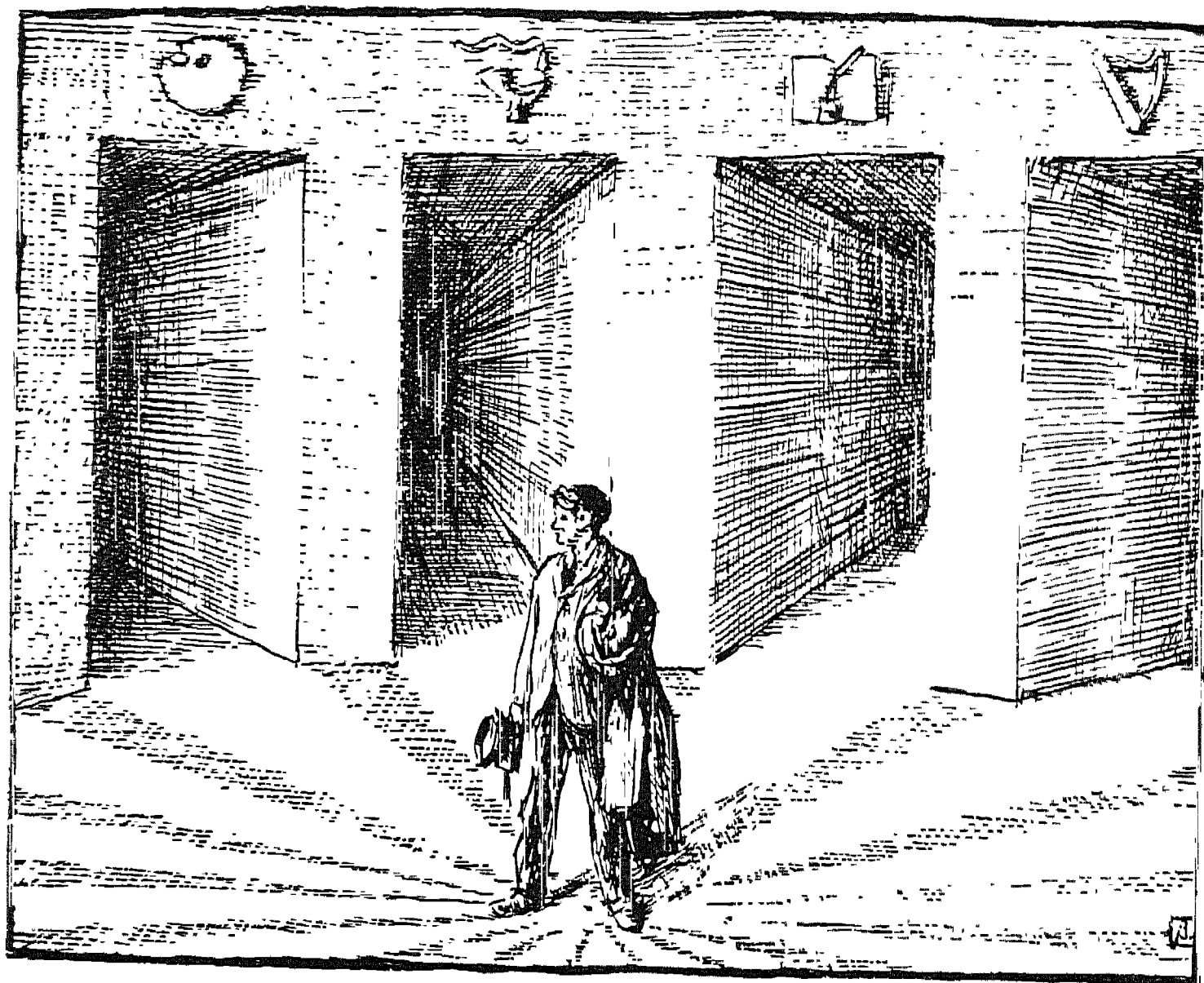
The Advantages of Habits over Instincts. When any act becomes habitual, it requires little or no conscious attention. It is nearly as automatic as instinct in the animals, but it is possible to reflect upon a habit and to change it if desirable. Habit is infinitely more advantageous than instinct, since it leaves man free to adapt himself to a wide variety of environmental conditions. Unlike the spider, the robin, or the fox, each of which has a single instinctive pattern for housebuilding and can build by no other pattern, man constructs a shelter which suits the conditions under which he finds himself. Moreover, the power to form habits enables each generation to advance over its predecessors. Civilization consists

of more and better habits. Animals have only limited power to form habits; man's power is unlimited. Ants, it is thought, have lived under the same system of community life for sixty-five million years, but man's entire political organization can change in a single generation.

The Relation of Habits to Customs. Many habits which individuals develop are imitated by others until they become customs. The innumerable new customs of the machine age each began in the habits which individuals established to meet the new situations into which they were thrust. When factories were first opened at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, there was no lunch hour. The workmen seized a moment now and then to chew on the hunks of bread which they kept in their pockets. Then some factory owner saw the wisdom of giving a definite lunch period when the machines would stop and all the workers might eat their lunch. Other employers quickly imitated this habit, until presently it became the custom. Custom relieves the individual from having to reflect on how to do something which is already agreed upon by society.

Playing football is a custom for American high school and college students. Before anyone can play football, he must establish the appropriate mental and motor habits. Much of our education consists in deliberately developing the habits necessary to follow the customs of our society, such as reading, writing, singing, and good social manners.

Habit and Character. Inasmuch as all customs are not obligatory, each of us has some choice in the habits which we shall learn. The longer we live, the more of our behavior is determined by habit, and the less easily can it be controlled by reflection. Each of us should take thought, then, as to the habits we are building, for these will influence our future possibilities. The choices made today determine what we shall choose tomorrow.



IN CHOOSING ONE ROAD HE MUST RENOUNCE THE OTHERS

The character is the sum of all the choices one has ever made. Greatness comes with numberless right choices.

Habits Close Avenues. Habit accustoms the individual to accept the limitations which his circumstances have placed upon him. Every time he makes a choice he turns his back upon the alternatives. Roads which he might have traveled close to him as he elects to travel a particular one, and the longer he continues in it the less possible it is to retrace his steps and start down another road. This is notably true in the choice of an occupation. When a young person graduates from high school or from college, his vocational habits are still almost unformed. A variety of possible occupations confront him; he can adapt himself to almost any in which there is an opening. If he finds no employment at the work he prefers, he may easily learn to enjoy some other kind of work. After working a number of

years, he feels at home in his particular job, and cannot easily change to another unless it be closely related. A change probably does not occur to him. He has developed skills and an interest in his work, and has shaped his leisure, his friendships, his manners, his ambitions, and his style of living around it. He would be loathe to leave the work he has learned to do well and to start at the beginning to acquire skill in some other line. Whatever the disadvantages of his occupation, he is used to them. If he was at first rebellious because his education, his capacity, or economic condition narrowed his choice of a career, his acceptance of the situation soon becomes habitual. He grows reconciled to fate and ceases to think of his disappointed ambitions.

Habit accommodates us to necessity, so that it seems so no longer, so that at last it shuts out even from our imaginations the alternative experiences and goals which seemed more appealing before the exigencies of life closed upon us. In time the prisoner may come to love his chains.¹

Habit and Social Change. As the individual grows older, his habits are woven together at so many points and are so deeply impressed upon his nature that he cannot easily modify them. A motor habit, like type-writing or playing golf, can still be acquired. But however much he may study, his thought patterns and emotional responses do not lend themselves to change. He may learn to speak a foreign language, yet can scarcely give up his prejudices about the people whose native tongue it is. If he migrates to their country he may acquire their style of dress and even, perhaps, their manners, but he cannot learn their ways of thinking and feeling, their valuations and their sentiments.

To give up a motor habit is not impossible. The

¹ R. M. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes* (Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1931), p. 291.

change is easy if it involves a shock. The man who always crosses the street without waiting for the appropriate traffic signal can relinquish the habit readily enough after an injury. By determined effort the adult may even correct a poor habit of posture, particularly if he is convinced that it is obstructing his advancement. It is much harder to give up an old opinion.

When social change threatens to uproot or greatly to alter an institution around which an individual's emotional responses are woven — his church, his college, his right to deal with his property as he sees fit — then readjustment may be too much of an effort. He feels that his very life is being invaded and broken. It is this which makes older people, as a rule, so conservative. When social change is necessary, it is the young, whose habits are still flexible and still not inextricably woven together, who eagerly accommodate themselves to the new conditions. It is they who establish new folkways and make over institutions.

Summary. Human beings do not come into the world with inherited behavior patterns as do the animals. Apparently our only unlearned behavior consists of simple reflexes and tensions; two kinds of emotion, anger-fear and love; and the random movements. The tensions lead to an endless variety of activity of a kind determined by the culture. All human behavior can be explained as an attempt to satisfy one or more of the four wishes for security, response, new experience, and recognition.

Because mind and body are inseparable, any condition which injures the body also affects the mind, and anything which disturbs the mind affects the body. Any situation, like economic insecurity, which unduly stimulates the fear-anger emotion makes for a poor quality of mental and social activity. This is illustrated by the apparent increase in mental disorders and crime

in our society. Whatever makes for an inward state of well-being encourages the emotion of love. Love promotes harmonious social relations and efficiency of mind and body. Progress requires that more of human behavior should spring from love rather than fear or anger.

The ease with which man forms habits gives him great advantage over the animals. A successful habit may be quickly adopted by everyone and thus become a custom. The human race thus possesses extraordinary adaptability to new situations. The sum of an individual's habits is known as his personality. After a while it becomes so firmly knit that to change it is almost impossible. Social change must therefore depend upon the young, whose habits are still being learned and who can still readily acquire new methods of response.

WORD STUDY

emotion	random movement	status
habit	reflex	stimulus
instinct	sensitive-zone response	tension

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Enumerate the reflexes mentioned in the chapter.
2. Give two lines of evidence tending to show that human beings do not have instincts like those of animals.
3. What harm resulted from the idea that human behavior is controlled by instincts?
4. What harm may come from a long-continued state of insecurity?
5. What activities are motivated by the wish for response? With what emotion is the wish for response associated?
6. Discuss the wish for stimulation or new experience. Mention several poor ways of satisfying it.
7. Enumerate several possible ways to satisfy the wish for recognition or prestige. Which are the better ways?

8. What are the basic emotions? What stimuli will produce each of them in the young baby?
9. What body changes accompany fear and anger? What disturbances are likely to follow?
10. What is random movement? At what period of life is it most in evidence? What is its value?
11. Wherein does his habit-forming ability give man an advantage not possessed by other animals?
12. In what situations does reflection become necessary?
13. What is the relationship between habit and custom?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Observe a domestic animal, a baby, and an adult each for ten minutes. Make a list of what each does. Compare the lists and single out the random movements, reflexes, instincts, and habits in each.
2. Read Chapter IV of *Human Nature and Management*, by Tead, and make a list of the suggestions given for satisfactory dealing with other people.
3. Read Chapter III of *The Foundations of Personality*, by Myerson, and make a classified list of habits discussed.
4. Read Chapter IV of *Mental Hygiene and the School Child*, by Symonds. Copy the list of drives on the blackboard and give examples of behavior arising from each. Does this classification seem more helpful than the four wishes?
5. Write a paper on the influence of the glands on the personality. *The Thinking Machine*, by C. J. Herrick, will be helpful to the superior reader.
6. Read to the class the famous description of love in *I. Corinthians*, Chapter 13, verses 4-8. (In modern editions the word "love" has been substituted for the word "charity" that appears in older versions.)
7. Is the satisfaction of any one of the four wishes of greater importance to happiness than that of any other? At what periods of life is any particular wish likely to be dominant? In a more ideal society than ours can you imagine any shift in emphasis among the various wishes?

8. Prisoners often engage in angry riots. Why does prison life stimulate anger?
9. Prolonged solitary confinement is regarded as the severest punishment known. Account for this by the theory of the four wishes.
10. What are the advantages and disadvantages to an individual in being governed by firmly established habits? Does the prolongation of schooling tend to make an individual's habits more or less flexible? What kinds of habits are most likely to be rigidly fixed in early life?

READINGS

- Dorsey, George A., *Why We Behave Like Human Beings*, pp. 336-363.
- Folsom, Joseph K., *Social Psychology*, pp. 140-158. Difficult but valuable analysis of the four wishes.
- Groves, Ernest R., *Personality and Social Adjustment*. Chapter II.
- Herrick, C. J., *The Thinking Machine*. For good readers.
- MacIver, R. M., *Society: Its Structure and Changes*, pp. 287-295, "Custom and Habit."
- Myerson, Abraham, *The Foundations of Personality*. Chapter III, "Memory and Habit."
- Symonds, Percival M., *Mental Hygiene of the School Child*. Chapter IV, "Drives." Interesting and easy to understand.
- Tead, Ordway, *Human Nature and Management*. Chapter IV, "The Use and Control of the Emotions."
- Wallas, Graham, *The Great Society*. Chapter V, "Habit."
- Woodworth, Robert S., *Adjustment and Mastery*. Chapters V, VII, and IX. Highly recommended. Simple and practical.

STORIES AND BIOGRAPHY

- Lawrence, Josephine, *Years Are So Long. If I Had Four Apples*. Two modern novels dealing with the personal causes and psychological effects of insecurity.

CHAPTER VI

HOW PERSONALITY IS FORMED

What is personality? At what period of life is it outlined?
What is the origin of our fears and prejudices?
What determines an individual's interests?
Why are some individuals timid, inadequate, or submissive?
What kind of experiences produce the adequate individual?
Who is antisocial?

THE TRAITS AND TRENDS of a baby's personality are to a remarkable degree the product not of specific inheritance but of conditioning environment. It is almost dismaying to note how promptly and relentlessly the conditioning process begins, literally at birth. There can be no doubt that the first outlines and to a certain extent the very texture of a personality are laid down in infancy. ARNOLD GESELL

PERSONALITY is nothing else than the habits by which an individual adjusts himself to his environment. Some are motor or physical habits. Others are intellectual and social habits. Perhaps the most important are the emotional habits. These begin in early infancy and are deeply rooted long before the individual has any conscious control over his behavior. As the emotional habits determine whether a given individual will be balanced or unbalanced, effective or ineffective, social or antisocial, they are of extraordinary interest to the sociologist.

To understand the process by which emotional habits are established, we must examine very simple kinds of behavior in the animal and the child.

Pavlov's Experiments with Dogs. The Russian scientist, Pavlov, spent many years in studying the salivary reaction of dogs. Under anesthesia a simple operation was performed by which the dog's saliva

could be collected in a tube and led to a measuring glass. When the small opening in the cheek had healed the tube could be painlessly inserted or removed. During the experiment the animal was placed in a light, comfortable harness in a sound-proof room. The experiments were short and the dogs made no objection to them.

Pavlov found that a drop of weak acid placed on the dog's tongue would cause saliva to flow. This is a simple, unlearned reflex. The acid is known as a *biologically adequate stimulus* to the flow of saliva. The ringing of a bell is not a biologically adequate stimulus to the salivary flow, yet if a bell was rung at the same time that the acid was administered, after many repetitions the sound of the bell would cause the flow of saliva, even though the acid was not given. The dog had learned a *conditioned response* to the bell. After a few trials the bell alone would no longer stimulate the flow of saliva, and the response had to be re-established by administering the acid during the ringing of the bell. This time the response was learned very quickly. By renewing the association of acid and bell from time to time, the dog finally acquired a permanent conditioned response to the bell. Similarly, though with greater difficulty, dogs were trained to salivate when a red light was turned on or when patted on the back. Neither a red light nor a pat on the back is a biologically adequate stimulus to the flow of saliva; through long association with the acid on the tongue they become *conditioned* stimuli.

The animal trainer has always made use of the conditioning process. By rewarding the animal with food when it executes a command, he teaches it to respond automatically to the command or signal. The reward must still be given occasionally in order to keep the conditioned response alive.

Conditioned Responses in Human Beings. A severe electric shock will cause a human being to gasp. If a bell is rung while the current is flowing, the subject will later gasp when he hears the bell without experiencing the current. On the basis of experiments, it has been concluded that most human reflexes can be conditioned in a great variety of ways.

John Watson, the American psychologist, conducted many experiments with children. He found that children acquire long-lasting conditioned responses, sometimes after a single experience. In one of his experiments Albert, a normal eleven-months-old child, was the subject. Albert had always lived in a hospital nursery, had never seen an animal, and had no other fears than those which are present in all young children — the fear of loud, sharp sounds and the loss of support. A white rat was shown him and he reached out to touch it. Just then a loud, crashing sound caused him to start. On a second trial the child cried with fear. Later, the appearance of the rat alone was sufficient to cause withdrawal, crying, and other evidences of fear. He was now not only afraid of rats, but also of things which resembled them. He showed fear when a rabbit was brought near him; he also feared a dog and a seal-skin coat. Even cotton wool produced a show of fear.

In another experiment Watson demonstrated how a conditioned fear response may be overcome. A child that had been taught to fear a rabbit was given something to eat. While the child was eating, the rabbit was placed in the room, but so far away from the child that it did not arouse fear. Day after day as the child was eating, the rabbit was brought nearer, until at last the child would hold it in his lap and go on with his meal. The child was *de-conditioned* by associating the object which had produced fear with the pleasant experience of eating.

The more emotionally disturbed the subject is, the more lasting will be any conditioning which occurs. A single experience with severe pain or great fear may leave a permanent conditioned reaction to the thing which caused the pain or fear.

Almost every fear that human beings display is the result of conditioning. One of the commonest is the fear of lightning. Experiments have shown that lightning is not a biologically adequate stimulus for fear. However, any loud, sharp sound is biologically adequate to produce fear, and the child learns to fear lightning because it is associated with thunder. If the child's fear is enhanced by seeing that other people are also afraid, the conditioning will be stronger and more lasting.

Children do not naturally fear scowls, angry voices, and threats of punishment. A scowl means nothing to a baby. But after a time he may associate the scowl with being punished. Then he responds to the scowl with fear, as he would to the threat of punishment. His interpretation of the scowl is a conditioned response. Similarly, an angry voice, unless it is extremely loud, is not biologically adequate to produce fear. Only when the child learns that the angry voice is likely to be followed by punishment does he show fear at being scolded. Little by little the child learns to fear a great number of things that might not cause fear at all to some other child that has been brought up under different circumstances.

How Love Responses Are Conditioned. The only biologically adequate stimulus for love is the caressing of the sensitive zones, such as the face, throat, and chest. At first the baby shows pleasure when anyone strokes and pets him, but later he prefers the petting of his caretaker. Gradually he learns to recognize his caretaker by sight, and her mere presence will then induce a pleasurable reaction, since by her petting he has been

conditioned to feel love toward her. Soon he learns to recognize her voice, and he responds to it with smiles and coos. It has become a conditioned stimulus for love. By association, the dress, the perfume, the special ways of his caretaker gradually become conditioned stimuli able to call forth the same inward state that she herself arouses in him. He is predisposed to like anyone who resembles his caretaker, and this predisposition will influence him throughout his life. Sometimes an adult is very much attracted to some new acquaintance just because she happens to remind him, unconsciously perhaps, of his mother. Even in old age an object which reminds him of his mother, although he may be unaware of the connection, will evoke a pleasurable inward state. This perhaps explains why people like to revive the fashions current about a generation ago, and why they place so much value on heirlooms and keepsakes. It is much easier for anyone to like something or somebody toward which he is already favorably conditioned by his childhood experiences.

The Origin of Symbols. If a complex situation having the elements *A*, *B*, and *C* has aroused a powerful emotional response *X*, then *A* alone at a later time is likely to call up *X*. *A* has become a conditioned stimulus, in other words a symbol, for the whole situation. Similarly, either *B* or *C* alone may suffice to reproduce the entire response *X*. Imagine a young child enjoying the first birthday party his parents have ever arranged for him. The birthday cake, the smell of the candles, the dainty refreshments, the gifts, blend together in an experience of surpassing joy. In after years any one of these elements may perhaps awaken the feeling of joy. What adult does not feel an inexplicable pleasure at the arrival of a birthday gift? The Christmas tree, Santa Claus, a jack-o'-lantern, Mother Goose jingles, familiar pictures, and familiar music are symbols likely to have



THROUGH EXPERIENCING PAIN THE CHILD LEARNS TO FEAR HIS PARENTS' SCOWLS, SCOLDINGS, AND MENACING GESTURES

become emotionally charged through our childhood experiences. Thus a song learned at the mother's knee remains throughout life a reminder of a very happy relationship. Long after the circumstances are forgotten, the song may evoke the emotional state in which it was learned.

A symbol may stand for a painful experience. Thus a child who has been severely punished or humiliated by a teacher may come to fear and hate all teachers. A child whose father is extremely severe sometimes develops a blind hatred of all authority. When he is grown up, an ordinary and reasonable command, as by a traffic policeman, may symbolize the whole disagreeable childhood situation, and provoke violent resentment. If a child is badly frightened in some absurd

way, as by telling him, "I'll give you to a colored man if you're bad, and he'll cut you to pieces," he may acquire a permanent, unconscious fear of that with which he was threatened. Any colored person then becomes a symbol for the experience of terror. Many of our prejudices (unreasonable dislikes) arise in some such way as this. We continue to feel fear or distrust toward some kind of person or thing long after we have forgotten the situation which originally conditioned us to respond in this way.

The members of a given culture group learn to respond in a similar way to a great variety of symbols. The cartoonist makes use of symbols common to his audience. He knows, for instance, that most people are afraid of tramps, so he pictures some person or party or idea in the shape of a tramp in order to stir up prejudice. The snake and the wolf are other common symbols frequently used by the cartoonist. As the reaction to a symbol is emotional and not rational, it is unnecessary for the cartoonist to prove that the person or idea he pictures as a snake or a wolf is really evil. The symbol alone will persuade many that here is something to be distrusted.

Successful speakers must know the background of their audiences. Then they are able to awaken the desired emotional response by referring to the appropriate symbols. It is easiest to do this when the members of the audience all have the same background, for then they will be likely to react all in the same way. The speaker has only to suggest that a beloved symbol — the Holy Sepulcher, Womanhood, the faith of our fathers, our native land, free enterprise — is in danger, to arouse the wrath of his audience, and even, perhaps, to turn it into a mob seeking vengeance.

The Sentiments. As the child grows up, the simple and unorganized emotions of his babyhood are gradually

attached to a great number of definite situations and objects. Towards some objects he develops a cluster of emotional reactions, known as *sentiments*. Common sentiments are jealousy, resentment, shame, joy, sorrow, remorse, gratitude, loyalty, piety, and reverence. These reactions cannot exist apart from some person or object, and this person or object may call forth different emotional behavior at different times. For instance, the child may be afraid when his caretaker is in danger, angry when she is threatened, remorseful when he has caused her pain, ashamed of her scorn, grateful for her ministrations, and sorrowful if he loses her. He learns these complicated reactions little by little, mostly through the suggestions and examples of those around him.

The sentiments are variations or combinations of the basic emotions of fear-anger and of love. They are not inborn but learned. Hence they differ in different individuals. Jealousy is a sentiment which is expressed very diversely among various culture groups. The situations which produce jealousy in our culture are quite unlike those which produce jealousy in other cultures. Where polygyny is practiced, the wives are, as a rule, not jealous of each other. Where the oldest son is by custom honored far more than any of his brothers and sisters, even to receiving all of his father's property, the other children are not, as a rule, jealous of him. The way in which an individual will react depends upon the habits he has established in childhood, and these in turn depend largely upon the habits of the members of his household and his first teachers.

The home, the school, the church, and the young people's organizations attempt to inculcate the sentiments deemed most valuable to society — patriotism, loyalty, reverence, sympathy, benevolence, and the like. As these cannot exist as mere abstractions, they must be

attached to objects or their symbols. The flag is used as the symbol for the fatherland; great effort is made to attach to it all the sentiments thought likely to insure the safety of the country for which it stands. By appropriate ceremonies, and especially by the use of music to stir the emotions, the child is taught to respond to the flag in the socially desired ways. Gradually in the child's mind the piece of bunting becomes a living reality which he must respect and protect. Without long and careful training, he would feel no sentiment whatsoever in connection with the flag or with such a word symbol as "The United States of America."

Sentiments are emotional habits. They are common to the members of a given culture group. Because they are learned in childhood, they are deeply rooted in the personality, and can scarcely be eradicated by later experiences. Thus, the adult may see his mother's faults, yet feel no weakening of his attachment for her. Or he may come to realize that his native land is not perfect, without any lessening of his patriotism. At the outbreak of the World War many intellectuals, who as adults had embraced pacifism, were surprised to discover in themselves the same patriotic fervor that was sweeping over their nonpacifist acquaintances. Only the most intellectually independent individuals were able to remain faithful to the pacifist creed. Until we are confronted by a situation that tests us, we seldom realize how powerful is the sway of the traditional sentiments.

The Personality Is Outlined in Childhood. In the various ways that have been indicated, the emotional nature of the child is gradually organized into permanent patterns of response. Later experiences can only fill out and complete the patterns already established. Most of the likes and the dislikes, the fears and the hates, the hopes and the ideals of the adult began in

his childhood. Some have arisen from his own direct experiences. Others have come to him by suggestion from the persons whom he loves. If his parents fear or hate foreigners, members of other races, Victorian furniture, flies, farm life, and cats, he is almost sure to develop the same prejudices. Expectation of their approval makes it pleasant to respond as do those one loves, and thus the child absorbs most of the ways of his parents.

By providing suitable experiences in kindergarten and elementary school, the child may be conditioned to responses superior to those of his parents, or of the general public. A first grade in New York City went to visit a kindergarten for Negro children. Noticing the poverty of the kindergarten room and furniture, the white children decided to do something about it. Skillfully guided by their teacher, they gave a play for their parents in order to raise money, and then they bought chairs and pictures for the kindergarten. The Negro children entertained them at a simple party, and also were entertained by the white children. Both groups of children were thus more favorably conditioned to each other and to the possibility of co-operating together for common ends. No result could have been expected had the two teachers contented themselves with merely talking about the pleasantness of interracial co-operation.

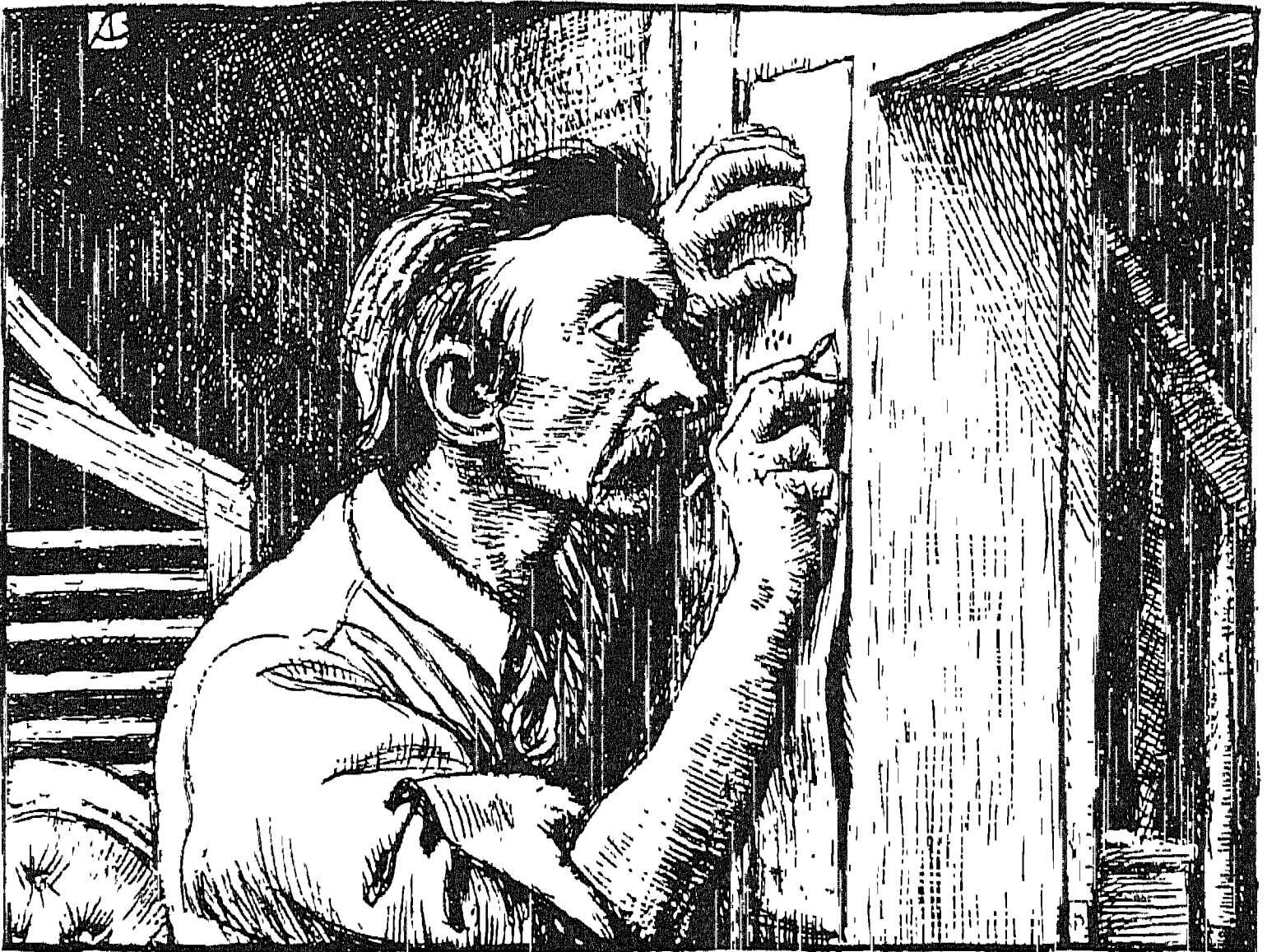
Conscience. Conscience consists of conditioned emotional responses to certain kinds of behavior. Because of this conditioning the individual has a strong feeling that some acts are wrong and others right. Only as the child early learns to associate pleasure or pain, approval or disapproval with an act, will conscience serve him as an automatic guide.

Attitudes. When we describe an individual's personality, we speak of his attitudes, saying, for instance, that he is kindly or cruel, sympathetic or indifferent, obliging or unobliging. An *attitude* is a set of the mind

Every Faces the Future by Gavin Wood. 1928

in a certain direction, a habitual tendency to react in a particular way. It develops as a result of early conditioning, just as other emotional patterns develop. Any well-established attitude is a large element in the individual's character. By studying his attitudes as shown in a few typical situations, we can predict his probable behavior in almost any situation. Let us examine a few pairs of fundamental attitudes.

Courage-Timidity. If anyone continually meets with lack of success, he loses courage and becomes timid. If possible he will withdraw entirely from those situations in which he is likely to fail. Lack of interest in any common pursuit often begins in a childhood experience of failure in that activity. It is really a lack of courage to undertake that particular activity. The child who is badly defeated in a fight with another youngster may give up fighting altogether. A child who fails in school — perhaps because of poor eyesight or hearing — generally renounces school and all intellectual pursuits at the first opportunity. A girl who is repeatedly scolded for being awkward loses courage to engage in physical activities like dancing, where her awkwardness might be noticed. Her timidity is disguised as a lack of interest. If a child is to develop courage in many lines of effort — that is, if he is to have many interests — he must meet with repeated success. The wise teacher always gives tasks that can be accomplished with reasonable effort, that the pupil may confidently go forward to a harder task. School work should be so planned that most pupils will be able to advance steadily in every subject. When this plan is followed, the majority of the pupils will develop courage. Adult experiences, if they bring too many consecutive defeats, may wipe out the courage produced in the school. Thus, too many rebuffs in seeking employment finally rob an individual of courage to look farther.

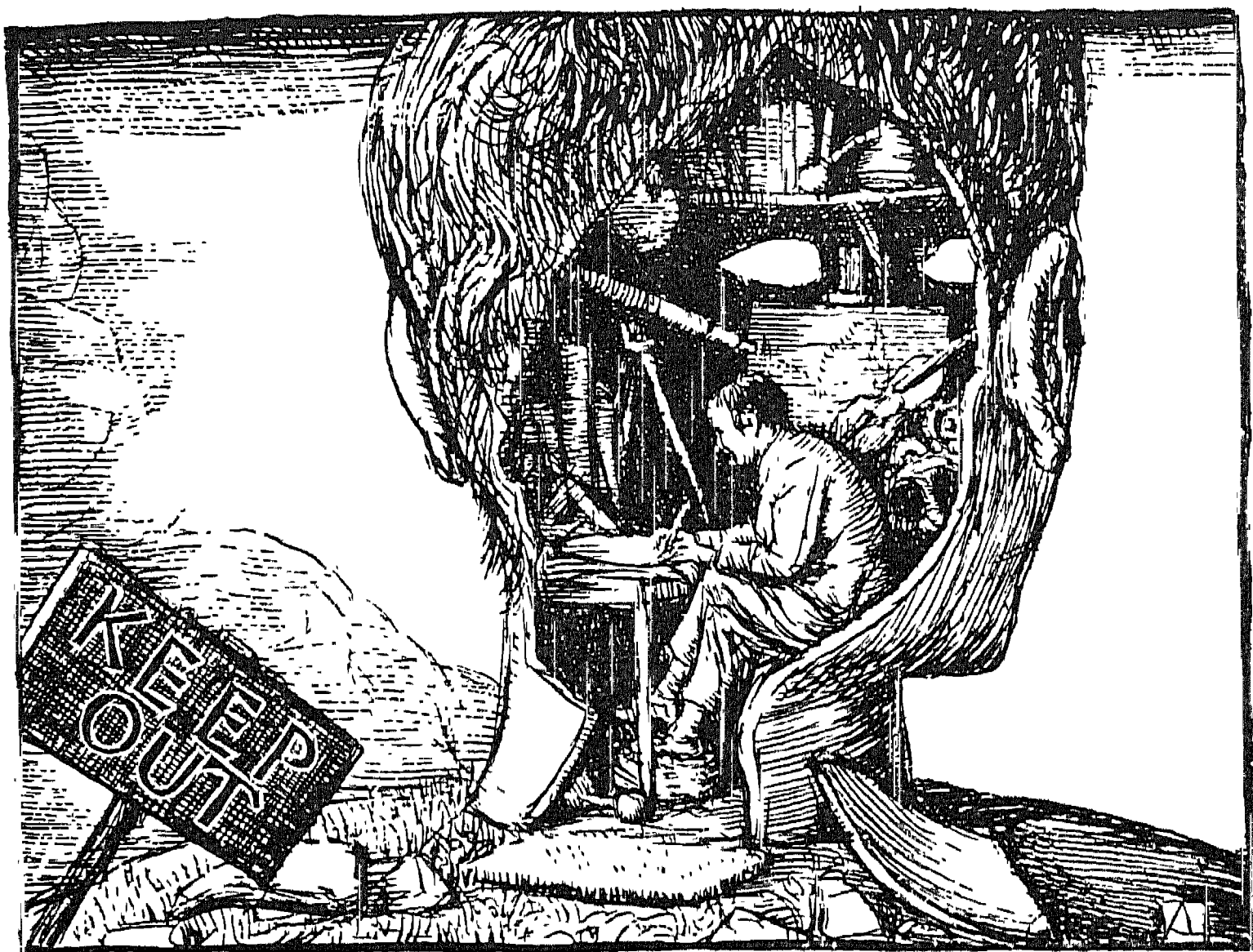


LAFCADIO HEARN WRITING EDITORIAL COPY AGAINST THE WALL AT THE NEW ORLEANS TIMES DEMOCRAT OFFICE

Inferiority-Adequacy. Sometimes humiliating failures create in an individual a strong belief that he is inferior. Often this results from an actual physical or mental shortcoming — small size, lameness, blindness, ugliness, or a slow mind. The victim exaggerates his defect until it colors his whole life. He fears that others are secretly pitying or ridiculing him. He considers every failure as due to his defect. He may withdraw from the struggle entirely, taking refuge in dependency on others. Or he may find some way of compensating for his handicap. For example, Lafcadio Hearn, already sadly affected by an unfortunate childhood, received an injury to his left eye which destroyed its vision. Books were his refuge. Reading constantly, he overstrained his right eye until it was swollen to twice its natural size. As a writer, he is distinguished for his sensitiveness to the meaning of

words and for his acute perception of sound, smell, and color. Napoleon's brilliant career is often explained by his small size and boyhood poverty, which drove him to a mighty effort. Many individuals seek to conceal their sense of inadequacy by an outward show of boldness. Their manners may be conceited, aggressive, noisy, dictatorial, or quarrelsome. They are likely to be very critical of others, for in finding fault they are trying to convince themselves of their own superiority. In some cases the attitude of inferiority leads to crime, since in this field the individual thinks to prove himself cleverer and more daring than other men. The boastfulness of certain types of criminals is evidence of their secret feeling of inadequacy.

Fortunate indeed is the person whose life experiences have given him a belief in his own adequacy to meet any situation. His past efforts have been successful and he anticipates continued success. His self-confidence enables him to overcome obstacles and to endure difficulties which would discourage many. The sense of adequacy develops in individuals who have continually been encouraged and trained from early childhood to be independent and resourceful. When one line of effort fails, they have been wisely directed into another. They have been taught to persist and to concentrate. Instead of reacting with fear and anger to an obstacle, they face it calmly and consider how to surmount it. Generally these habits and the entire attitude of adequacy are learned from parents who feel adequate. In our society adequacy is most common among persons of good social status. Their superior position has sheltered them from most of the discouragements and humiliations which come to average persons, and has convinced them of their superior ability and character. They therefore find it easier to meet life with confidence and courage than those who are less sure of their merits.



THE INTROVERT

Ascendance-Submission. Whenever two persons of equal social position meet, there results an unconscious rivalry for leadership. In conversation each seeks to prove his own point, but presently one gives in and temporarily agrees with the other. Or each proposes a way to spend their time together, and one accepts the other's plan. In all the minor and major rivalries of life, some persons habitually yield place to their equals, and are said to be *submissive*. Others habitually dominate, and are said to be *ascendant*. Only the ascendant person can become the leader of his equals. Like other attitudes, these originate in early life. The child who usually has to give in to other members of his family is likely to be a submissive adult. But the child who has his own way will probably be ascendant in later life. The only child and also the oldest child in a family are especially likely to develop the ascendant attitude.

Introversion-Extroversion. The introvert is one who "looks within." He has a liking for solitary activities and enjoys such occupations as reading, writing, solving puzzles, drawing, carving, playing a musical instrument, studying, and research. His imagination is rich and active and creates for him a world of fancy in which he is happier than in the usual run of social activities. His aspirations are higher and his feelings deeper than those of the average man. His emotional reactions are complex; less thoughtful men do not understand him. The introvert perseveres for a long time at anything which interests him. He is indifferent to distractions, contempt, and ridicule. The genius is usually strongly introverted, and from his extraordinary inner world produces invention, poetry, music, drama, fiction, philosophy, scientific theories, or religious conceptions. Introversion is probably the result, in individuals of unusual sensitiveness, of experiences which make the outward world appear less interesting and enjoyable than that which they can create within their own minds. Introversion is fostered in some cultures, being very common in several tribes of North American Indians and among the Hindus. It is thought queer and unwholesome in our society.

Extroversion is just the opposite. The extrovert is little troubled by inner reflection, doubts, and hesitancy. His energy flows freely into momentary occupations, and is likely to be abundant, bubbling, and enthusiastic. He participates freely and confidently in social affairs, and likes to be with other people. He does not find pleasure in thinking about himself and reflecting on his experiences. He likes to do things, to "be on the go," and to be as much like other people as possible. Extroverts are far more common in the United States than are introverts. The Eskimo are also strongly extroverted people.

The majority of men are neither completely extroverted nor completely introverted, but about halfway between. When tired, troubled, or discouraged, they may incline toward introversion, only to swing in the opposite direction when their ordinary good spirits return.

Social-Antisocial Attitudes. A well-socialized person habitually considers the welfare of others. He does not necessarily sacrifice himself to them, but he scorns to advance at other people's expense. His own pains and disappointments do not seem to him more important than those of anyone else. He regards himself and all others as ends and not merely as instruments for accomplishing someone else's purposes or ends. This shows in his treatment of servants or employees; he tries to make such use of their time and energy as will not prevent them from enjoying life and fulfilling their own purposes. If he is employed, he serves his employer honestly and has regard for the safety of his fellow workmen. He is upright and considerate in all his dealings.

At the other end of the scale are the cheat, the tyrant, the exploiter, the racketeer, and the swindler. These take advantage of others at every opportunity, seeking only to advance their private ends. They regard superior strength or cleverness as giving them the right to prey upon society.

In between are the great mass of people who abide most of the time by the accepted standards of society. They strike a balance between their private interests and those they share with their group. Perhaps they are willing to bribe a policeman, although this is contrary to their own long-run interest in having good police protection. Or perhaps they disregard the fire regulations, which are likewise in their interest as much as anybody's. They are shortsighted rather than ill-

meaning. They are generally less selfish and more upright in their intimate relationships than in those that arise from membership in larger groups. That is, they are more socialized in dealing with their families and friends than in dealing with business associates, employees, customers, or the community at large. This reflects the failure of most parents to make vivid to the child his obligation to the community and to society as a whole.

The way in which parents influence the social attitudes of their children is illustrated in the following excerpts:

A father berated his son for carrying a package handed him by a delivery boy. It saved the delivery boy the task of carrying it up the steps of a high terrace on a busy, hot evening, but the father said, "You will need to learn not to be everyone's fool. We pay to have packages delivered, so why should you tire yourself helping him?"¹

A child of ten was riding with some friends one evening. A boy on a bicycle stumbled and was nearly hit by a passing car. Some remark was made regarding the tragedy of a child being hit by a car. The little girl spoke up, "My father ran into a boy last night and knocked him down but didn't injure him. If it had hurt him, it wouldn't have mattered, because my father said he knew the alderman and could get out of it without trouble."¹

The remarks of these fathers reveal an antisocial attitude which must crop out again and again in their relationship to those outside their own intimate circle. Their children will probably absorb this attitude from them, unless there is a strong offsetting influence.

Conclusion. The extreme adaptability of human nature is shown by the way in which children acquire all

¹ Manuel C. Elmer, *Family Adjustment and Social Change*, p. 42. Copyright 1932. Reprinted by permission of Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., publishers.

sorts of emotional responses. Long exposure to poor influences in childhood is responsible for a great deal of adult failure. By controlling the experiences of the young child, society might shape his personality in almost any conceivable direction. The elimination of race prejudice, of senseless fears, of harmful sentiments such as jealousy, and undesirable attitudes, is possible. To the sociologist, intent on how a better society can come to be, this fact is of extreme significance. Better emotional responses will bring happier, fuller social relationships. The first step is to inform parents and teachers about the process by which emotional responses are conditioned. When this is widely understood, more care will be given to the development of wholesome personality. So long as this is not understood, people will continue to say, mistakenly, "You can't change human nature," by which they mean that a better society is impossible.

WORD STUDY

antisocial	conditioned response	prejudice
attitude	de-conditioning	sentiment
ascendance	extroversion	socialization
biologically adequate	introversion	
stimulus		

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How can a baby be taught to fear a rat? To what other objects will this fear be extended?
2. Why are small children likely to fear a barking dog? How could this fear be overcome?
3. Under what conditions may a single experience produce a conditioned response?
4. How does a child learn to fear a scowl or an angry voice?
5. What is the biologically adequate stimulus for love? How

does the child learn to love whoever cares for him? In what way does the child learn to love certain objects?

6. Explain the origin of symbols. How are sentiments attached to symbols deemed important by a group?
7. What is the connection between one's experiences and one's interests?
8. What may cause a strong attitude of inferiority?
9. What is the common cause of conceited or aggressive manners?
10. How does a sense of adequacy develop? How is it shown?
11. Describe the attitude of ascendance. How may it originate?
12. Differentiate between introverted and extroverted conduct.
13. Illustrate socialized behavior. Antisocial behavior.

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Make a list of the attitudes of your best friend. Can you suggest how any of these originated? Do any of them hamper him? If so, how could you help him to overcome them?
2. Write a paper on methods used by the animal trainer.
3. Make a list of symbols used in popular songs.
4. Prepare an exhibit of cartoons showing a wide variety of symbols. Can you find a few old cartoons using symbols now somewhat out of date?
5. In what ways does a good school offer a better environment for the growth of sound emotional habits than a poor school?
6. Is suppression of fear and anger always good for the individual? For his associates?
7. Socialized behavior promotes the long-run interests of the doer. Illustrate.
8. Are there persons or groups in our society who are used, to their own hurt, to promote the ends of others? Illustrate.
9. What interests do the members of your class share? Are any of these neglected as the individual members pursue their private interests? Show how a compromise is reached that allows each to continue with the least interference from the rest.

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CHAPTER VII

THE MALADJUSTED PERSONALITY

How can the mature personality be distinguished from the immature?

Why does a period of rapid cultural change produce so much maladjusted behavior and misconduct?

*By what devices do we defend ourselves from the idea of failure?
Escape from difficulties?*

What conditions favor the development of mental disease?

MALADJUSTMENT is always an inadequate response to a present difficulty.

The Need for Mature Personality

Life is Struggle. No form of life exists that is not constantly engaged in the struggle to maintain itself in spite of difficulties. The competition for room to grow, for sunlight, moisture, and nourishment, is the most conspicuous characteristic of the vegetable kingdom. Wild animals, too, engage in a lifelong struggle against other animals for food and shelter, and only the fittest can long survive. Civilization has relieved human beings of the more brutal aspects of the struggle for existence. The danger of starvation, of death from exposure and from contagious diseases, has greatly diminished. Thus, in the United States the average expectation of life at birth is three times what it was in Europe in the sixteenth century. But the struggle has only taken a different form.

Instead of making an intense effort merely to survive, men now compete for a more worthwhile life. Culture sets perpetually higher goals. A century ago a

very ambitious boy might long to go to an academy, but today he would not aim at less than a college course plus two to four years in a professional school. Two centuries ago a journey from Virginia to New York was a tremendous adventure, for which one could expect envy and admiration from all one's acquaintances; extensive travel is now thought to be an essential part of a good education. A log cabin miserably heated by a fireplace was regarded in frontier days as an adequate dwelling; a man could build it himself for practically no cash outlay. Today the houses we consider adequate are vastly more healthful and comfortable, but they are so expensive as to be beyond the reach of many. Security a few generations ago meant a homemade wardrobe and a supply of foodstuffs and fuel for the winter. Modern men want security beyond the basic necessities of life. They wish to enjoy a full, rounded experience, with freedom for intellectual and social activity. The competition to obtain these things is exceedingly sharp, and the average man is probably subjected to greater mental strain than at any previous stage of culture.

Mature and Immature Personality. In the struggle for a satisfactory life everyone encounters disappointments. These test the soundness of the emotional habits. The genuinely mature personality has a tremendous capacity to make adjustments. But many adults are immature. They lack harmonious and reasonable goals, and perhaps overestimate or underestimate their abilities. They do not easily overlook annoyances and slights, and so waste their energy in needless friction. They are more or less unhappy and ineffective. Their experiences, particularly the formative experiences of childhood, have warped their attitudes. They have poor habits of meeting difficulties, and easily become maladjusted to the conditions under which they live.

In studying the case of a maladjusted individual, it is not always easy to decide whether his trouble is due to the immediate unsatisfactory situation in which he finds himself, or whether it may be traced to inadequacies arising in his childhood experiences. A stock broker flings himself from a twentieth-story window. Is this because he had just lost a fortune, or is it because he had never learned to face and adapt himself to serious disappointment? An unemployed clerk becomes mentally unbalanced, thus finding escape from a situation which he felt to be intolerable. Was there no other escape from his predicament, or was he reacting to a lifelong conviction of his own inferiority? A high school boy holds up a filling station. Had he deliberately decided that this was his best way to put an end to poverty? Or was he reacting unconsciously to his resentment against society at being an unwanted child? The suicide, the mentally unbalanced, and the criminal are alike in that they are maladjusted to society. The sociologist is deeply concerned with trying to discover the underlying causes for their abnormal behavior.

Mental Conflict Shows in Maladjustment. Most students of maladjustment believe that the immediate difficulties which confront an individual are never sufficient to explain his abnormal behavior. They find that he is suffering from an inner conflict of motives, often going back for years. Emotional habits formed in childhood are probably hampering his adjustment to an adult world. He may never have outgrown the childish desire to be in the center of the stage. Perhaps he still likes to "show off" — the dominant motive of a large class of youthful delinquents. Or he cannot harmonize the inconsistent standards of behavior expected by the various groups to which he belongs; he finds, for instance, that business success seems to require him to go counter to the morality taught by home, church, and school.



THE RAPID CHANGES OF MODERN LIFE BEWILDER
US AT TIMES

Or his environment changes drastically all at once and he cannot adjust himself quickly enough. The soldier returning to civilian life, the released prisoner, the countryman settling in the city, the immigrant in a strange land, are often greatly bewildered. The accustomed and sheltered ways of the past are gone, and they do not clearly see what is now required of them. The mobility and rapid changes of modern life produce in many of us at times just such a mental confusion.

Adolescence, with its rapid transition from dependence to independence, and its other new responsibilities, is likely to be a time of inner conflict; it is very significant that nearly all first offenders are under twenty-five years of age. Mental conflict often springs from a sense of guilt due to a desire which the individual thinks is wrong. He has some inner tension which he has not

learned to express in the socially approved ways, and he feels out of harmony with the world. Again, the individual's peculiar talents may not be recognized by his group. Or his ambitions are out of the ordinary, and he does not find the conditions under which he can realize them. For some reason or other the individual fails to present a united front to life — he is looking in two ways at once and trying to walk in both of them. This inner disharmony shows in maladjusted behavior or in misconduct.

Good and Poor Ways of Adjusting Ourselves to Difficulties

Mechanisms of Adjustment. An obstacle can generally be met in one of three ways: (1) by extra effort, (2) by seeking a detour, using reflection to find another way to the goal, (3) or by abandoning the desire if the obstacle is too great and the goal not essential. Frequently the first and second ways prove fruitless, and the third way is the only possible solution. The third method is less easy than it sounds. Most of us try to give up the goals which we cannot reach, but often we cannot quite bear to abandon them, and so they continue to cause inward tension for a long time. Besides, many goals are too important to be given up. No normal man, for instance, is willing to admit that he cannot earn a good living for his family.

In trying to protect himself from the idea of failure, the individual develops certain mechanisms (habits) of defense or of withdrawal. Everyone uses these same mechanisms occasionally. Used too freely, they are apt to increase rather than decrease the difficulty of adjustment. They become so habitual that the individual begins to defend himself or to withdraw when he should still be struggling to overcome or to get around the obstacle. Watch someone who has been defeated, and

you can determine whether he faces facts squarely or whether he has to make up some sort of excuse to justify himself. The good loser is able to accept defeat in a matter-of-fact way.

The Defense Mechanisms. The individual who is defending himself feels inadequate to overcome the difficulty which confronts him. But he does not want to admit even to himself that he is inferior to others. He is therefore oversensitive to criticism. He cannot bear to acknowledge that he might be at fault, and tries to prove that he is in the right. He may be inclined to blame others for his difficulties. Perhaps he rebels against authority and cannot endure to take orders. He may interpret a polite suggestion as a slur on his ability, and make an angry response, or else give numerous unnecessary excuses. He is apt to be quarrelsome, since he is easily offended. Sometimes the inadequate individual adopts an aggressive, over-confident manner, in order to convince himself of the adequacy which he does not feel; others regard him as conceited or forward when he is really suffering from an unbearable feeling of inferiority. Just because he needs encouragement so desperately, he is usually over-responsive to praise, and will love anyone who flatters him.

Some individuals conceal their inward sense of inferiority by bullying others, by tyranny, or even by cruelty. They enjoy positions in which they can wield authority over the helpless. The matron in an orphanage, the prison guard, the policeman, the school-teacher, the factory foreman, and the office manager may, if they are maladjusted, take a grim pleasure in making life miserable for their subordinates.

Radicalism is, in some cases, a defense reaction. The individual long confronted by a situation which thwarts his most cherished desires becomes convinced that society should be drastically made over. His radicalism

may disappear should his personal fortunes mend. Thus many farmers follow radical leaders when times are bad, only to return to their customary conservatism when times improve. Of course in some cases radicalism is a reasoned intellectual position and not an emotional attitude.

Delinquency is nearly always found to be a mechanism of defense. The delinquent child is, in very many cases, from a broken home which provides him too little security, response, and recognition. Often other members of his family are in conflict with society, so that he lacks both security and status. Cruel punishment and harsh treatment drive some youngsters to assert themselves in wrongdoing. Stealing by a child is frequently a way of getting attention, or else the means, thoughtlessly chosen, for putting himself on a par with others of better fortune. Destruction of property is usually a way of settling a score; it is a defense mechanism akin to slamming a door or throwing a dish on the floor. To understand a delinquent it is necessary to find out what is blocking him in reaching his particular goals.

Rationalization is a universal device for protecting oneself from unpleasant truth. It is an attempt to give an air of reasonableness to behavior which is unreasonable. Human beings do the things they want to do and afterwards invent reasons for doing them; it is this process of inventing reasons that is called *rationalization*. Men explain away the most bizarre and even unsocial conduct by this device. The members of a lynching mob insist that they are merely seeing that justice is done. Child labor has long been defended on the ground that the parents need the child's wages. We invent reasons for our failures and excuses for our shortcomings. The poor workman blames his tools. Some say, "It is fate." Others throw the blame on some other person; they do not wish to admit that they are

even partly at fault. Most persons rationalize when they reply to a criticism.

Rationalization is responsible for the "sour grapes" and the "sweet lemon" reaction. The notion that the bright child is likely to be nervous, that the quick learner forgets quickly, and that the beautiful are "dumb," are typical of the "sour grapes" variety of thinking. Some persuade themselves that even their greatest disappointments are all for the best. This is the "sweet lemon" mechanism. Whenever the bare facts are too painful to be faced, we all clothe them with unconscious fictions.

What, then, may be considered a desirable defense from failure? The healthiest kind of reaction to a situation in which one cannot win success is to make up for one's lack in some other way — that is, to compensate. The blind frequently develop an extraordinary memory, acute hearing, and extremely sensitive fingertips. The disabled sometimes acquire great social charm — the result of an intelligent determination to compensate. It is said that men who are unhappily married are more likely than other men to create works of art or to make important scientific discoveries. The ugly woman may compensate by skillful costuming, by becoming a wit or a clever conversationalist. The mental defective sometimes takes joy in doing with extreme faithfulness and care a humble task, thereby earning self-respect and the respect of his associates. The gallantry often exhibited by the handicapped and the defeated is a challenge to the rest of us.

Another way to compensate is to identify oneself with some more fortunate individual, in imagination sharing his experiences. In this way many people whose own lives are rather empty are able to enjoy a vicarious satisfaction. It is for this reason that many of the poor love to read about members of fashionable society and



THE POOR OFTEN IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH THE RICH
AND FAMOUS THROUGH READING ABOUT THEM

stars of the screen. Popular fiction caters to the vast numbers of people whose own adjustments to life are not very satisfactory. These readers insist on highly romantic stories of success in love and the acquisition of wealth. Moving pictures are also chosen largely to gratify unsatisfied yearnings for adventure, romance, and success. Nowhere else can one so quickly discover the sort of man and woman most envied by the common people. Realistic fiction and plays, on the other hand, have a very limited market. They are enjoyed by the well educated, who are not keenly dissatisfied with life, and who in any case do not identify themselves with the unreal characters of popular fiction and drama. The average person finds realistic writing and drama depressing.

Identification may take the form of unselfish devotion to another, as is so often seen in family life. The old

not infrequently direct all their efforts to promoting the happiness of their children or grandchildren. They may have no other source of satisfaction in life — a pathetic situation indeed. Others give their lives to religion or to social service, identifying themselves with the universe or with the church or with all humanity. Some find self-fulfillment in the renunciation of personal goals in order to serve a great cause. They identify themselves with the cause.

Character is formed by our day-to-day reaction to the difficulties that confront us. Those men and women whom the world calls great have avoided ineffective and poor-quality responses; they have habitually sought to compensate for failure and to identify themselves with movements and forces that are worthy of the highest endeavor. Thus they have armored themselves against the personal disappointments that come to everyone.

The Withdrawal Mechanisms. Experience teaches us to avoid those situations in which we are likely to fail. Unfortunately we often withdraw when we should make a greater or more intelligent effort. Shyness or timidity is a common way of avoiding difficulties. Obstinacy, and the refusal to try to do as one is told, are childish methods of withdrawal. The absent-minded person has deliberately chosen to ignore a portion of experience which he finds meaningless or unpleasant. Most of us succeed in forgetting a great many unpleasant things. We lose or mislay a bill, or a request for a loan, or the address of someone whom we do not wish to see again. Sometimes an individual forgets all about a portion or a period of his life, even to forgetting his name, his address, and his family. When this occurs it is clear that the forgetting is a way of escape from a situation he can no longer endure. The truant and the lazy have obviously withdrawn from a situation which seems to demand too great an effort. *Retrogression* — a turn-

ing backward toward the past or to ways of behavior too young for one's years — is a common type of withdrawal. This may be shown in the frequent resort to tears, in the temper tantrum, and in homesickness. One two-year-old, jealous of a new baby brother, lay on the floor and said, "I'm too little to walk." A boy talked continually of a home run he had made two years ago, but refused to play ball for fear of making a bad showing.

Daydreaming or *phantasy* is another mechanism of withdrawal. It causes the dull pupil to be inattentive at school. The bright child, also, may be bored by school work and amuse himself by daydreams. In phantasy we achieve the humiliation of our enemies, win homage from those who now ignore us, rescue someone from death by a brave deed, become famous overnight, find riches, or obtain whatever satisfaction we vainly seek in real life. Ready-made daydreams are provided for us by romantic novels and photoplays. Most of our planning and thinking contains an element of phantasy. All of us indulge in daydreams, particularly when we are much dissatisfied. Daydreaming eventually wastes time, or is undesirable when it becomes a substitute for activity.

To exaggerate one's injuries and physical symptoms is another very common device of withdrawal. Some school children develop a nine-o'clock headache, but make a complete recovery if allowed to stay home from school. Mental strain may show in headaches for which there is no physical basis. Stuttering, stage fright, and writer's cramp are primarily due to mental, not physical, difficulties. Such symptoms are not, of course, due to deliberate deceit. Yet they are convenient devices for escaping, at least temporarily, from some difficulty. Of course they are undesirable responses, since they only make worse the individual's predicament.

Too much punishment often leads to withdrawal. One six-year-old child was coaxed by his mother to confess a childish misdeed, and was then very severely whipped. For months afterward he was shy, silent, and indifferent to suggestions, requests, or commands. Perhaps he would have permanently remained in a world of phantasy, had he not been taken to a psychiatrist (a specialist in mental disorders), who induced him to tell how his mother had betrayed him, and then gradually restored to him a normal confidence in other people.

Too much protection may encourage withdrawal tendencies. The only child or the youngest child is sometimes so sheltered from difficulties that he never learns to face and conquer an obstacle. Girls are often allowed to withdraw from situations in which boys would be encouraged to put up a fight; this is one reason why women are less bold and aggressive than men.

Those Who Become Mentally Disordered

When a person is seriously maladjusted to society for a long time, he is likely to exhibit a mental disease, ranging from what is popularly called "nervousness" to a complete withdrawal from reality. He loses his ability to adjust himself to disappointments and to make an effective struggle against obstacles. The disorder often shows itself during a crisis due to the loss of one's job, a death in one's family, or a disabling accident, but this event is probably not the cause of the disorder. More likely it reveals an inward conflict of long standing. The milder types of mental disorder are known as *neuroses* (the singular is *neurosis*); the more severe are termed *psychoses* (the singular is *psychosis*).

The Neuroses. The two great classes of neuroses are *hysteria* and *neurasthenia*. Both result from an accu-

mulation of poor solutions to problems which leave the individual's life distorted and increasingly difficult. Both types of patients are likely to show fears, deeply entrenched inferiority attitudes, poorly chosen goals, conflicting purposes, and impossible life patterns.

Hysteria. The hysteric is marked by emotional instability. He is overexcitable and goes to extremes in expressing his emotions. Crude outbreaks of anger and destructiveness, uncontrollable seizures of grief, despair, and religious ecstasy, or rapid changes of mood, characterize many cases. Hysterics may be extremely sensitive and easily reduced to tears. To attract attention or to get his own way the hysterical child has a temper outburst, a long spell of weeping, or even stages a convulsion. Occasionally an adult reverts to the same childish conduct. A twenty-two-year-old girl, deserted by her husband because of her tantrums, said tearfully, "I never could get any attention paid to me in the Home unless I lay on the floor and kicked, and I don't know how to get anything any other way."¹ Generally, however, the adult is more subtle.

Frequently a patient experiences some physical symptom, such as headache, digestive troubles, tic (habitual twitchings, especially of the facial muscles), blindness, deafness, or paralysis, for which there is no physical cause. The soldier sometimes develops symptoms which make it impossible for him to remain at the front. The unconscious purpose of these physical complaints is to escape from an intolerable situation, to secure sympathetic attention, to tyrannize over others, or to avoid doing something one does not wish to do. The patient is not aware of this, and his physical suffering is genuine. When ordinary medical treatment does not cure these symptoms, they may yield to a mental

¹ E. R. Wembridge, *Other People's Daughters* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926), p. 81.

influence, such as good fortune, a sudden danger, or the persuasive personality of a physician or clergyman. Faith healing is often effective. The psychiatrist directs his treatment toward renewing the patient's courage.

Neurasthenia is marked by an unusual tendency to fatigue. The patient tires very easily and requires many extra hours of sleep. He is thin and worried and his general health is poor. He reproaches himself for his ill-health, and is convinced of his own uselessness, sin, or inferiority. To get through his work is difficult, and he finds it hard to reach a decision. He is likely to be listless and lacking in enthusiasm. His attention may tire easily, and tends to turn inward rather than outward. His motor co-ordination is likely to be poor; his hands shake, he drops things, strikes the wrong keys at the typewriter or the piano, or fumbles the ball.

Anyone may occasionally exhibit some of the symptoms of hysteria or neurasthenia or both. These symptoms are merely exaggerations of the defense and withdrawal mechanisms discussed above. They are not to be regarded as dangerous unless conspicuous and of long duration.

Treatment of the Neuroses. A neurosis consists essentially of poor emotional habits established in early childhood. As it is difficult for a grown-up to modify his basic habits, a complete cure is not always possible. The best way of helping a neurotic is to aid him to work out a better plan for his life — a plan at which he has a reasonable chance of success. He can perhaps be shown a method of compensating for what he regards as his failure. A young man who was studying to be a concert singer developed a peculiar sore throat which defied treatment. Finally a psychiatrist got to the bottom of the matter. He found that his patient was not sufficiently gifted to succeed in concert singing, and that he partly realized this, but could not give up his studies

for fear of gravely disappointing his mother. He had unconsciously found escape from his mental conflict by developing a sore throat. By calmly talking over the situation, the specialist got his patient to face and solve the problem. The young man went into business and promptly recovered from his sore throat. His inner conflict was ended, and he later became popular as an amateur singer.

If the patient's hope and courage can be restored in some way, he will regain his health. For the jobless individual the solution may be some training or study by which he can improve his qualifications. The Civilian Conservation Corps has probably rescued a great number of potential or actual neurotics. For the older person, or the one of limited ability, it may be extremely difficult to discover any means for restoring the lost grip on life.

The rekindling of religious faith saves some who can be helped in no other way. Through religion the individual may come to believe that in spite of everything he is of some value to the universe. This gives him the support he needs if he is to hold his head up and continue the struggle. However, to most individuals religious faith can be only a partial compensation. Besides the comfort of religion, the neurotic needs, above everything else, a self-respecting place in the everyday world.

The Psychoses. The more severe and permanent forms of mental disorder are the psychoses, of which there are many varieties. A psychosis often makes the patient unfit to remain at large, lest he injure himself or others. He is then considered *insane* and is committed to an institution. *Insanity* is a legal term. Most mentally diseased persons are not insane — that is, they are not unfit to remain at large, although they may require a considerable amount of care and assistance from their families.

Some psychoses are due to bodily disease. Others are perhaps due to faulty glands. The majority of cases seems to be due to personality maladjustment. The malady is in the way the mind works, and is said to be *functional*.

The psychotic patient has completely failed to come to terms with his environment. He has withdrawn from it into an imaginary world where the struggle to reach his goals is easier. He cannot distinguish between the real world and his inner world of phantasy. Usually he specializes in one or two of the mechanisms of defense or withdrawal. In *mania* the patient specializes in ceaseless activity to forget his troubles. In *schizophrenia* the patient abandons the effort to talk. He ceases to relate himself to others. He sits motionless for hours, wrapped in his own thoughts and completely indifferent to his surroundings. The *paranoid* patient may be perfectly normal except in one respect — he blames his troubles on persecution by the Jews, the Masons, the Catholics, or some other group.

The case of a paranoid patient, a young woman who developed delusions (false beliefs) to compensate for poverty, is described below:

Marion, the daughter of a widow, was reared in a very modest home. The problem of supplying the bare necessities of life was a real one. By making the utmost sacrifices, her mother kept her in school until she had completed a course at the university. Marion's great fear was that other students might learn of her poverty. She would speak of the grandeur of her home, of the cost of furniture and rugs. This caused her to be regarded as queer by girls to whom such things were taken as a matter of course. She did not belong to a sorority, a fact known to her teachers, but she would tell them of the trouble she was in because her sorority sisters were telling lies about her. They were jealous because she was so popular with boys. She would confide in friends and faculty advisers concerning

her wild escapades, at times even claiming to have been arrested. . . . She bought a cheap evening gown, and wore it to class one morning with a corsage of roses, telling the girls she had been to an all-night party and had come directly to her class. When a trained social worker made contact with her, it was for a time difficult for the girl to readjust her own thinking and actually to distinguish between fact and fiction. For years she had been living in a dream world and had grown into a mild state of paranoia. While she has apparently recovered, the false ideas of her earlier period have not been entirely separated from the actual facts.¹

Treatment of the Psychoses. Since the beginning of the century great progress has been made in the treatment of the psychoses. If suitable treatment could be given early enough, a large percentage of cases might be helped. By the time the disease is recognized and the patient is placed in a hospital, he may have deteriorated so seriously as to be incurable by present techniques. In order to improve the prospect of a cure, several states maintain clinics to which anyone may go for diagnosis and treatment. Those found to be badly disordered are advised to enter mental hospitals as voluntary patients. The opportunity to get away from a bad home situation and to build up a new way of facing life may be sufficient for a cure.

Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania are among the states that have excellent mental hospitals. These hospitals are equipped for many different types of occupation, handicrafts, and recreation, since it is considered important to provide patients with agreeable activities similar to those of the outside world. Medical care is given to build up the general health. Only those who cannot safely mingle with others are

¹ Manuel C. Elmer, *Family Adjustment and Social Change*, pp. 304-305. Copyright 1932. Reprinted by permission of Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., publishers.

placed by themselves. In cases not too far advanced, psychological treatment may be useful, particularly allowing the patient to discuss his troubles with a psychiatrist in order that he may face the facts regarding himself and find a better method of adjusting to them.

Before a patient is discharged it is desirable that his home situation be improved, that he may not be exposed to the same conflict and strain that caused his breakdown. Some hospitals have social workers who go into the homes of patients about to be discharged for the purpose of explaining to other members of the family how to prevent a recurrence of the disorder. Their co-operation can help in shielding the returned patient from nagging, criticism, blame, and quarrels. They may learn to demand less of him and to praise and encourage him more. If they are very intelligent, perhaps they can be taught to tolerate his own peculiar ways of being happy without laughing at him for not being exactly like everyone else.

Urban Conditions Present Most Strain. In the state of New York it is estimated that one in every twenty-two persons will be a patient in a mental hospital at some time during his life. This state is as yet one of the few which provide hospital care for every mental patient who seriously needs it. Other states with a smaller proportion of patients probably have many mental cases that are not discovered. However, under existing conditions the Northeast may actually have more mental disease than other sections. The large foreign-born population is subject to tremendous strains in trying to adjust to another language and way of life. The millions of industrial workers lead a mobile, unstable life, continually moving from place to place in search of work, and seldom staying long at one job. They do not strike roots in a neighborhood and feel the mental security that comes from community ties. When

the industrial worker remains unemployed a few months, he probably has to surrender his life insurance, lose whatever he is buying on installments, move to smaller quarters, and take his older children out of school. The necessity for such extensive alterations in the life pattern taxes the mental health of every member of the family. Middle-class families, too, are probably less secure in an industrial section than they would be in a rural section.

For many individuals the problems of life are easier in the country than in the city. The rural standard of living is simpler. Goods are more reasonable. Competition is less feverish; there is less fear of becoming dependent. Marriage is not postponed so long and is more stable. Therefore fewer individuals become seriously disordered.

The Peculiar Difficulties of the Social Deviant

In every culture group there are some talented individuals who are regarded as queer and abnormal. Their particular abilities are not recognized by their society, and they find themselves spiritual outcasts. Men who would have been saints in the Middle Ages are without vocations in modern Europe and America. Wandering musicians and storytellers were well received in feudal castles, but today individuals with the same talents cannot, unless they are unusually gifted, use them to make a living. Individuals subject to trances and fits are highly valued among some peoples, but are regarded as physically unfit by us. Some of the most honored Puritan divines of eighteenth-century New England were psychotic according to our standards. They were not maladjusted to their society, but on the contrary were highly successful and esteemed. It is likely that some mentally diseased individuals are merely those who, not finding themselves at home in

the culture into which they are born, retreat into an imaginary world.

In China, education as shown in the memorizing of scores of books was long the only road to distinction. Those who tried and failed in the examinations were often completely discouraged; they might never be able to reconcile themselves to their failure. In Sparta, superb physical development, and in Rome, military prowess, were the tests of adequacy. We can imagine the unhappiness of those who could not meet these particular tests. The dominant value in our culture is wealth. Those fitted to succeed in the competition to acquire property are highly honored. Others may never succeed in winning the prestige they crave. They may become hoboes and Bohemians. Writes an American anthropologist:

Our hobo population is constantly fed by those to whom the accumulation of property is not a sufficient motivation. In case these individuals ally themselves with the hoboes, public opinion regards them as potentially vicious. . . . In case, however, these men compensate by emphasizing their artistic temperament and become members of expatriated groups of petty artists, opinion regards them not as vicious but as silly. In many cases they are unsupported by the forms of their society, and the effort to express themselves satisfactorily is ordinarily a greater task than they can achieve.¹

Only exceptionally strong, mature, and creative persons can long maintain their balance if they refuse to conform to the standards of their group. Reformers and idealists, unwilling to accept society as they find it, and ridiculed for their advanced ideas, may develop maladjustments of personality. Pacifists in time of war, subjected to universal scorn and condemnation, may become mentally disordered.

¹ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), p. 260.



MISUNDERSTOOD AND FALSELY ACCUSED, COLUMBUS WAS
CAST IN IRONS AND SHIPPED BACK TO SPAIN

The nonconformist seeks to associate himself with those who think as he does. He finds his position more tolerable when he feels himself supported by others, even though they are at a distance. He will value the letters and writings of kindred minds far more than the communications of the average people about him. His isolation from society will seem greater in a small community than in a large city, for in the smaller place there may be nobody to share his views.

Popular superstition has it that genius and mental disease go together. "Great wits are oft to madness near allied," said Dryden. The truth seems to be that the genius is always a deviant. However, not all deviants are geniuses. When a man does something that is out of the ordinary, that is beneficial and understood by

the public, he is called a genius. Should his acts not be understood, or should they be considered harmful or foolish, he is said to be mentally unbalanced. It is difficult to think of any genius who during his lifetime was not regarded as "crazy" by some or most of his associates. Columbus, Magellan, Darwin, Alcott, Whitman, Poe, Thoreau, and Lincoln were often called insane.

Conclusion. As culture advances, there is more tolerance of nonconformists and social deviants. This should go far to help these eccentric and often highly gifted individuals to keep their balance. There is, however, in our society, a tremendous amount of serious personality maladjustment. This is shown both in the high crime rate and the high rate of nervousness and other mental diseases. Apparently these rates are mounting. If so, the explanation probably lies in the strain created in individuals by the necessity of adjusting to a number of conflicting groups and to rapidly changing social conditions. Social standards are more conflicting than ever before in the history of man; they no longer give to the individual a feeling of security and permanence. Economic insecurity, combined with much moving from place to place, also causes terrific emotional strain. Our times demand individuals who are very adaptable, whose life plans are flexible to an extraordinary degree, who can get along with all sorts of people, and make the best of ever-changing circumstances. Only individuals trained in this way of life from childhood can stand the pace.

WORD STUDY

compensation	neurasthenia	rationalization
defense mechanism	neuroses	retrogression
hysteria	paranoia	schizophrenia
identification	phantasy	social deviant
insanity	psychoses	

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Struggle is the basic fact of existence. Explain.
2. Mention a test of social maturity.
3. Enumerate conditions likely to produce mental conflict.
4. What are the three most desirable ways of reacting to an obstacle?
5. The defense mechanisms come into use when the individual feels inadequate to overcome the obstacle between him and his goal. Enumerate various kinds of defense from the idea of failure.
6. Illustrate what is meant by identification. What groups of the population are most inclined to use this mechanism?
7. Illustrate the device of compensation.
8. Who reads realistic fiction? Why does it not have a mass market?
9. Discuss what is meant by rationalization.
10. Enumerate the mechanisms of withdrawal.
11. Illustrate retrogression.
12. Describe hysteria. How can it be treated?
13. Describe neurasthenia. How can it be treated?
14. Is it usually possible to effect a complete cure of a neurosis? Explain.
15. Of what value may religion be in helping a neurotic?
16. Differentiate between insanity and psychosis.
17. Discuss the treatment of a psychosis.
18. What are the special difficulties of social adjustment in an industrial city?
19. Are geniuses mad? From whom among his contemporaries is a genius likely to secure recognition?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Appoint a committee to report on the provision made by your state for the mentally diseased. Are there clinics, voluntary patients, parole, and social workers connected with the mental hospitals? What occupations and diversions are provided in these hospitals? How is a patient committed and when is he released?

2. Field trip. It is sometimes possible for high school seniors to visit a near-by mental hospital. Such a trip can be a valuable experience.
3. Write a paper on the work of Dorothea Dix in securing kinder treatment for the insane. Describe the conditions under which the insane were formerly kept.
4. Review Chapter XVI of *Personality and Social Adjustment*, by E. R. Groves. If time permits read portions of the chapter to the class.
5. Report on typical cases of hysteria. *The Science of Life*, by Wells and Huxley, pp. 1344-49, will be helpful. Also consult other references.
6. Report on typical cases of neurasthenia. *The Science of Life*, pp. 1353-56, will be helpful.
7. Report on everyday methods of escape from reality. Chapter XI of *Building Personality in Children*, by Garry C. Myers, is a good reference.
8. Report to the class on the subject of rationalizing. *The Mind in the Making*, by James H. Robinson, is a valuable reference.
9. Enumerate several kinds of deviant individuals in our society. Is the position of a deviant likely to be better or worse in a complex culture like ours than in a simple and stable culture?

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UNIT V



MAKING THE MOST OF THE BIOLOGICAL HERITAGE

CHAPTER VIII. HOW IMPORTANT IS THE BIOLOGICAL HERITAGE? Can we improve the human breed? The carriers of heredity. Defective genes. Unit characters. So-called degenerate families. Positive eugenics — the prevention of war. What about racial differences?

CHAPTER IX. THE CONSERVATION OF INTELLIGENCE. What is intelligence? Can it be measured? Special abilities and disabilities. What is genius? The mentally defective. Special classes for slow learners.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW IMPORTANT IS THE BIOLOGICAL HERITAGE?

What kinds of characteristics are influenced by the genes?

Do the genes severely limit the average person's possibilities for development?

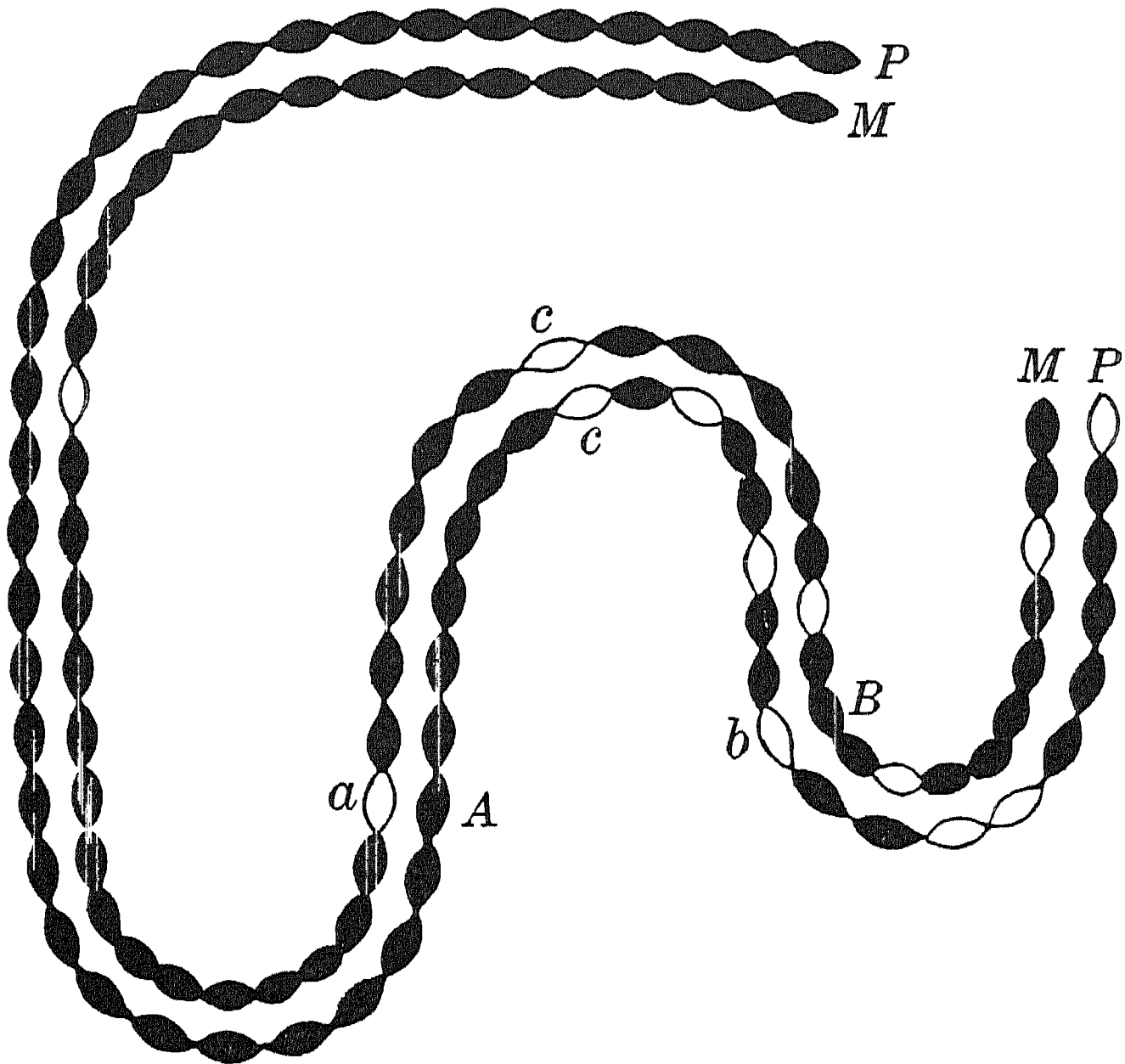
Are all human traits deeply influenced by environmental conditions?

Are some races inferior to others?

OF ALL the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences upon the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences.

JOHN STUART MILL

IN THE preceding chapters we have been concerned with man's social heritage — what it is, how it is transmitted, and how it molds the individual personality. The biological heritage is also to be taken into account. In the past the biological heritage was thought to be of vastly greater importance than the social heritage. According to this view, social problems like poverty, unemployment, mental disease, and delinquency were attributed to the poor quality of the human stock. Certain classes and races were thought to be of such inferior stock that they were doomed at birth. The more fortunate classes, it was argued, are of superior stock, and for that very reason are destined to enjoy a higher level of culture and greater privileges than the masses. Many persons still accept this view. If this belief is correct, most of the attempts at social reform are useless, and instead we should give our attention to weeding out the inferior strains of human stock.



From The Biological Basis of Human Nature by H. S. Jennings. Courtesy W. W. Norton and Co.

The Genes Are the Carriers of Heredity

The genes, represented by the spindle-shaped bodies, are arranged in consecutive order in long paired strings in the cell nucleus. One string (P) of the pair comes from the father, the other (M) from the mother. Thus the genes themselves are in pairs, one member of each pair from the father, one from the mother. The genes shown in white are defective.

Can We Improve the Human Breed?

The Genes: Carriers of Heredity. Within every living cell are a great number of infinitely small packets of chemicals known as *genes*. The genes are arranged in two parallel series, like two strings of beads. For each packet in one string there is a corresponding packet in the other; the corresponding packets of any pair may contain exactly the same chemicals or may be different. Each pair of genes influences a particular trait, such as the color of hair, the stature, the shape of the nose, or

the sensitivity of the nervous system. When both genes in a pair are unlike, one may be dominant over the other, as the gene for normal skin color dominates that for the albino condition. Or both genes may influence the trait, producing a blend, as in sweet peas when a gene for red color and a gene for white produce pink.

The genes may be represented by letters:

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Etc.
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Etc.

In this case we are assuming that each pair is identical, a most unlikely possibility.

When the male germ cell and the female germ cell are about to unite to form a new individual, each contains only half the genes of an ordinary cell, for one gene in each pair has been discarded at random. After the two germ cells unite, the fertilized egg contains the full number of genes, one of every pair having been contributed by each parent. The new individual thus inherits equally from both parents.

If the mother's genes are symbolized by small letters and the father's by capital letters, the genes of the new individual may be represented as follows:

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Etc.
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	Etc.

It is probable that some of the pairs of genes are still identical, unless the parents are from extremely unlike races that have not recently mixed. Assuming that some of the mother's genes are identical with those of the father, the combinations of the new individual might be as follows:

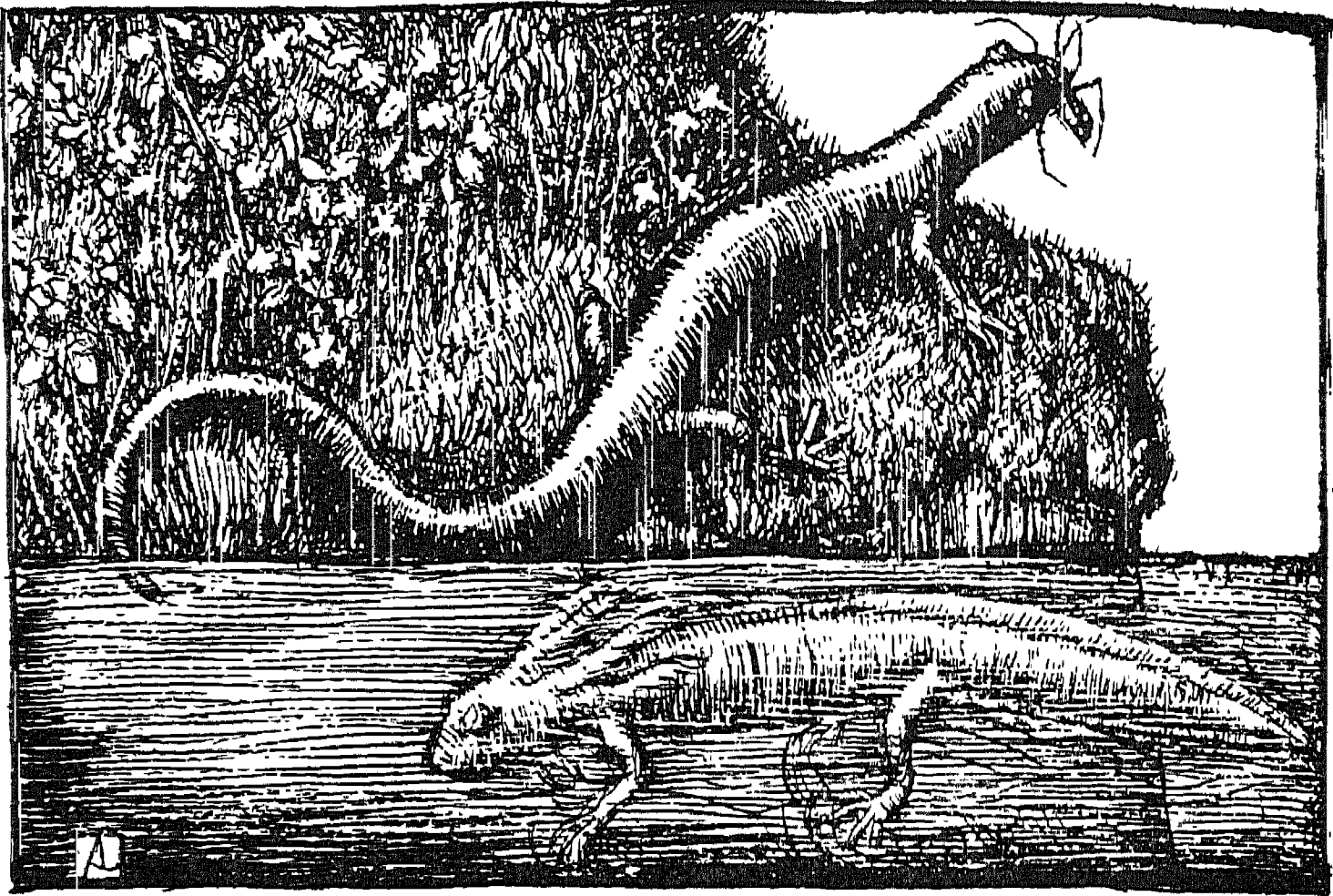
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Etc.
A	B	c	d	E	F	G	h	I	j	k	l	M	n	O	p	Etc.

How many genes are present in a human cell is not yet known. There may be thousands. Whatever the

number, it is constant for all human beings. It is estimated that there cannot be less than 500,000 possible combinations of the genes of any two human parents. This means that any two parents might have 500,000 different kinds of children. This is the reason that brothers and sisters vary from each other in so many of their inherited physical and mental characteristics. No two individuals are ever born with the same inheritance except identical twins. Identical twins arise from the accidental splitting of the new individual in its first minutes of life, so that a single fertilized egg produces two or more individuals.

Because the combinations of genes in the new individual are very different from the combinations in either parent, the child does not have the same inheritance as either of its parents. In fact, the children of the same parents will be more alike in inheritance than are the two parents.

All kinds of human characteristics — physical, physiological, intellectual, and emotional — are deeply influenced by the genes. The genes represent the *possibilities* of the individual. He cannot exceed these possibilities. But the possibilities are very numerous, and few of them are permitted to develop to their utmost. For instance, the human cortex (the so-called gray matter of the brain) contains several billions of cells, yet most of these are never used. It is doubtful whether any individual has ever developed even half of his potential mental ability, or half of his potential bodily strength. Theodore Roosevelt was a small and sickly child, yet by intelligent and persistent effort he overcame his physical handicaps and grew into an exceptionally vigorous man. The possibilities of health and vigor were inherited, but he might easily have failed to develop them. In fact, many young people imagine that their mental and physical powers have been rigidly limited by



THE MEXICAN SALAMANDER ON LAND AND IN WATER

their inheritance. If they resign themselves to this fatalistic view, they will not achieve anywhere near what their genes allow.

Which of the inherited possibilities will develop is decided by the kind of stimuli which play upon the individual. This is most simply illustrated by experiments with lower animals. The same kind of larvae may become either queen or worker bees, according to the food they receive. A Mexican salamander which lives in the water has a broad, heavy body, flat tail, and external gills. When these salamanders are made to live on land from an early stage of life, they become land animals with slender bodies. They breathe air; their gills disappear; they lay their eggs on land and raise their young there. Evidently their cells contain two very different sets of hereditary characteristics. The environment determines which set shall be stimulated, and which set shall remain latent. When plant lice are placed on rose twigs which dip into water con-

taining alcohol, wings do not appear. If salts instead of alcohol are added to the water, the plant lice will develop wings. Fertilized fish eggs, treated with a solution of magnesium, grow into fish with a single eye in the center of the head. Higher animals also display extraordinary powers of responding to various environments.

The possibilities are in the genes. The realization of the possibilities lies in the environment. *We do not inherit characteristics but material which under one set of conditions will produce one characteristic and under a different set of conditions will produce another.* All characteristics are therefore both hereditary and environmental.

Defective Genes. Certain defects are known to be inheritable. Among these are some cases of feeble-mindedness and a few types of insanity. Several deformities are inherited, including club feet and extra fingers and toes. Deaf-mutism and some kinds of blindness and deafness are hereditary. Albinism, haemophilia, and some classes of glandular defects are carried by the genes. The predisposition to cancer, tuberculosis, and epilepsy is believed to be inherited, although if good hygiene is followed the predisposition may be counteracted.

Eugenics — the science of improving the human race through heredity — is chiefly concerned with how these defective genes may be eliminated. But we have almost no knowledge of the genes of human beings. We do not know whether a single pair of genes determines a given defect, or whether numerous pairs co-operate. The red eye color of the fruit fly is produced by the influence of fifty genes in each parent. If one parent has only forty-nine of the necessary genes for red eyes, the fiftieth being for white eyes, then the offspring will have white eyes instead of red. The difficulties in-

volved in controlling so complex a mechanism are enormous. Only if a defect is found to be due to a single pair of genes can there be hope of its elimination. Yet even in this case the difficulties, as we shall see, are serious.

Mendel's Law. Many traits are inherited as "unit characters," independently of one another. Gregory Mendel, an Austrian monk, was first to show how unit characters are inherited. Color-blindness, night-blindness, and albinism are among the traits believed to be unit characters. The inheritance of unit characters is well understood in fruit flies, and the knowledge thus gained has in some cases been successfully applied to plant and animal breeding. As yet our knowledge of such characters in human beings is so slight that we cannot put it to any practical use.

A dominant trait appears in every generation, but a recessive trait may appear only occasionally. None of the important defective genes in man are dominant, if indeed they are unit characters. To illustrate the extreme difficulty of eradicating a defective gene, let us consider the inheritance of albinism in the guinea pig. The colored condition is dominant to the albino. If a black guinea pig is crossed with an albino, the offspring in the first generation will all be black. These offspring are hybrids — that is, half-breeds — which possess both black and albino genes but show only the black because it is dominant.

If two such hybrids are mated, Mendel found, the unit characters separate according to the following ratio:

1 black (pure); 2 black (hybrids); 1 albino (pure). The pure black, mated to another pure black, will produce only blacks, since it contains only the genes for black. Similarly, the albino, mated to another albino, will produce only albinos, since only albino genes are present. But the hybrids, which cannot be distinguished

from the pure black until numerous offspring have been born, will always average one albino in every four offspring. Their offspring also will be of three kinds, according to the ratio:

1 black (pure); 2 black (hybrids); 1 albino (pure).

To eliminate albino guinea pigs it would be necessary, as a first step, to prevent all albinos from having offspring. But many of the colored guinea pigs would continue to carry the gene for albinism, and whenever two guinea pigs with this gene happened to mate, one fourth of their offspring would, on the average, be albinos. After several generations during which no albinos were allowed to mate, the albino condition would become rare. It is unlikely that it would ever disappear entirely.

The Possibility of Eugenic Control of Mental Defectiveness. Defective mentality is the trait which above all others we should like to eliminate from the human race. Of the numerous types of mental defectiveness, most are believed due to environmental causes, such as lead poisoning in one of the parents, birth injuries, a severe blow on the head in early childhood, and certain childhood diseases, including rickets and meningitis. Only eleven per cent of the cases have feeble-minded parents. However, some types of feeble-mindedness are undoubtedly hereditary. Whether they are due to a single pair of genes is not known. But assuming this to be the case, it is certain that the gene for the feeble-minded condition is recessive. It may therefore be carried by several generations of normal individuals, only to appear at last when two genes for this particular defect happen to come together. The only practicable way to reduce the number of inherited cases of feeble-mindedness is to keep records of all feeble-minded individuals and their offspring for several generations, then prevent the mar-

riage of those feeble-minded whose condition seems to be due to defective genes. This costly and elaborate program would reduce but not entirely eliminate the number of individuals who inherit feeble-mindedness. In the long run it would be worth far more than its cost in reducing accidents, crime, immorality, and misery.

The Jukes and the Kallikaks. For years publicity has been given to so-called degenerate families, such as the Jukes and the Kallikaks, very many of whom were paupers, drunkards, immoral persons, and criminals. The assertion has been made again and again that if all such families were identified and prevented from having children, the total number of paupers, drunkards, immoral persons, and criminals would be greatly reduced. No geneticist, however, believes that these abnormal conditions are carried by the genes. At most these miserable people may have genes which give them low intelligence and nervous instability. It is the social and not the biological inheritance which produces dependency, criminality, immorality, and the like. A dull-witted person may be a useful member of society. But even a normal child born and brought up among drunkards, paupers, and criminals would not be prepared to live a normal life. He would learn to solve his problems in the same antisocial ways practiced by his relatives.

Mentally deficient people who cannot earn their own living are better off in institutions or colonies than at large. They are happier in a sheltered environment of this kind, and are removed from the temptations that surround them in the outside world. Institutional care insures that they will not have children. Although their children might be born normal, they would not stay normal very long if left with their parents, and for this reason it seems better that they should not be brought into the world.

Positive Eugenics. Desirable as it is to prevent the

hopelessly dull and unstable from having children, this is only one task of eugenics. A vastly more important eugenic task is the prevention of war. War is totally dysgenic — it destroys the best stock and leaves the poorest to become the fathers of the next generation. It selects only the strong and intelligent and marks them for death. Those who escape death and disability rarely escape with good health. The killed and disabled and their unborn children represent a terrific biological loss. The World War probably did more to lower the quality of the white race than the efforts of the eugenicists can offset in the next thousand years.

What About Racial Differences?

In thinking of racial differences most people are fatalistic. They suppose that some races are bound by their genes to be more or less intelligent, more or less useful and honest than other races. This idea encourages the exploitation and degradation of minority races. Wherever it is believed, no attempt will be made to give real equality of opportunity to racial minorities.

The Myth of Racial Superiority. Propagandists have been active in spreading misinformation about the superiority of the white race, especially its Nordic portion, to all others. Members of the white race find this notion so agreeable that they rarely question whether it is true or not.

“Race” is a word little used by scientists. There are no pure races except on the fringes of habitation — regions so unattractive that the inhabitants live almost completely cut off from the outside world. Such are the places occupied by the Eskimo, the Ainu (living on desolate, rocky islands in the northern part of the Japanese Empire), and the Negritos and Bushmen who dwell in a very hot, moist section of Africa. All other

racess are of very mixed descent. For this reason the word "race" has little meaning. It is more accurate to speak of "ethnic groups" or "peoples" — mixtures of racial strains long lost or blended beyond recognition.

There is little scientific evidence for the belief that any people has a biological inheritance superior to that of any other people. Indeed, which of the thousands of human characteristics should be measured in order to find out whether one race is superior to another? Whatever trait is measured, among every people certain family lines will be superior to others with respect to that particular trait. Furthermore, the various family lines among a given people differ from each other more than the average of a whole people differs from that of any other people. That is, there is more difference in intelligence between the most intelligent and the least intelligent families of a given people than between any two peoples taken as a whole. It is, in fact, doubtful that peoples as a whole differ much in native intelligence. As no existing tests of intelligence measure pure native ability, apart from environmental influences, there is no trustworthy evidence that any race is superior in native ability to any other. Much the same statement could be made for any other trait; family lines will differ more in respect to that trait than do ethnic groups.

Most of the measurable differences between ethnic groups can be explained by environmental conditions. For example, certain physical traits change rapidly when the environment is changed. This is shown by the American-born descendants of European immigrants. Those of Sicilian stock have rounder heads and narrower faces than their European-born parents, while their stature and weight is less than that of their parents. American-born Hebrews have longer and narrower heads than their European-born parents and are taller and heavier. Alterations in the shape of the face may

be due to eating softer foods, which do not develop the jaws. Increased stature and weight are thought to result from better food and hygiene, while decreased stature and weight may result from worse food and living conditions. If the body changes in this way, it is likely that mental qualities change also. Measurements of this kind show that in human beings, as in the lower animals, the genes contain a great variety of possibilities. Which of these possibilities shall be developed is decided by the kind of stimuli supplied by the environment.

The social heritage is undoubtedly of more importance than the biological heritage. Negro children born in New York and sent to the same schools as white children make the same average scores on intelligence tests as do their white schoolmates. If southern Negroes are less intelligent, on the average, than southern whites, the difference may lie wholly in their schooling and home life.

The Negro in Africa and in the United States. To understand the capacity of the Negro race, it is well to know how Negroes live in Africa. There are, of course, many distinct African tribes, some of which are more advanced than others.

Native African art and industry are of a high order. Blacksmiths, wood-carvers, weavers, and potters produce articles of original form, executed with great care. They show the two qualities so typical of pre-machine-age cultures — interest in work and delight in craftsmanship. The government of the native states often shows organizational skill. The typical village is thrifty and carries on an extensive trade with its neighbors.

The traits of African culture as observed in the aboriginal home of the Negro are those of a healthy primitive people, with a considerable degree of personal initiative, with a talent



THE AFRICAN WOOD-CARVER DELIGHTS IN HIS CRAFTSMANSHIP
— AN INTEREST TYPICAL OF A PRE-MACHINE AGE CULTURE

for organization, and with imaginative power, with technical skill and thrift.¹

How, then, can be explained the lack, so often observed among American Negroes, of some of these very traits? Their history and social status in the United States would seem adequate to account for their deterioration in culture. To begin with, upon being brought to America they completely lost all the social controls to which they were accustomed. Negroes of various tribes, speaking unlike tongues, with diverse customs and taboos, were mingled together on southern plantations. They had no common traditions to share with each other, so their native cultures died.

Secondly, they were dependent upon their white masters, and were reduced to the helpless position of slaves. No slave race long preserves its initiative and

¹ Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (The Macmillan Company, 1911), p. 271.

thriftiness. Men must function as self-determining, self-respecting beings or they become childlike.

Third, their release from slavery found them totally unprepared for freedom. They had no Negro society, and they had not been prepared for participation in a society dominated by whites. They were penniless, landless, illiterate, unpracticed in self-discipline. Very few of the slaves had been allowed a normal, permanent family life, and the institution of the family, with its powerful social controls, has never since regained full strength among Negroes. Institutions develop through centuries of uniform experience; they can be destroyed in one generation, for they exist only in the minds of a people.

Fourth, since their liberation they have faced a severe economic struggle against heavy odds. The fact that they were landless and penniless obliged them to live wholly by labor. Yet they were ill-prepared to compete with white laborers, millions of whom were migrating to the United States in search of work. They had to take the poorest-paid and least attractive positions. Most of them remained as tenants and laborers on southern farms, their status little, if at all, improved over that of slaves. Those who went north fared better than those who remained in the South, but even in the North the Negroes have generally had to work for smaller wages than the whites, and to take dirty, heavy, or dangerous work, as in the steel mills, slaughterhouses, and mines. Few Negroes have found employment of a sort likely to develop their latent capacities. This is partly because of prejudice against them and partly because they generally lack vocational training.

The Conditioning of Race Inferiority. Whenever two races or ethnic groups of very unlike appearance are in contact, many prejudices grow up. The difference in physical characteristics leads to mutual misunderstanding and hostility. When one of the races is in a minority

and subject to the other, its position is always unfortunate. The majority race acts on the assumption that the minority race is inferior, and denies it equal educational, political, and economic opportunities. Little or no encouragement is given to superior individuals in the minority race. They are denied access to the experiences that stimulate native ability. Those who surmount all obstacles are ignored. Under these conditions the minority race may exhibit a real inferiority of culture, which intensifies the contempt in which it is held.

The strongest conditioning influence is the conviction that members of the minority race are incapable. This is so powerfully suggested by the dominant race that the minority comes to accept it as well. Once a child thinks of himself as lacking in some capacity — as having been doomed by his poor inheritance — he ceases to have self-confidence or courage to make an effort. Just as our society has conditioned women to be frail, so it has conditioned the Negro to be inferior.

It is significant that nearly all distinguished Negroes have had, in youth, the encouragement of an educated Negro group, as in a Negro college. Before the Negro race can demonstrate its capabilities it must have a functioning Negro society with its own institutions operated by Negroes. There able individuals can exercise leadership and obtain recognition from their own people. There all Negroes can develop the self-respect and the capacity for self-direction which a subjugated people cannot develop. Only in such a society can the Negro realize the best of his inherited possibilities.

Conclusion. The amazing success of plant and animal breeders has led to a widespread belief that the human stock can be improved by the wiser selection of parents. The theory is correct, but there are enormous difficulties in its practical application. Some of these difficulties are purely social, such as the determination of civilized

men to marry whom they please. Other difficulties arise from the dearth of knowledge on human heredity.

Many inadequate individuals appear to be as much the product of a bad environment as of inherited defects. Should the inherited defects ever be eradicated from the race, there is reason to believe that bad environmental conditions would continue to produce a large crop of poor-quality human beings. It is, then, not enough to eradicate bad germ plasm; conditions unsuitable for human development must also be removed.

Apparently the principal inherited defects are recessive; this is certainly true of mental defectiveness. Recessive traits cannot be completely eliminated, although they might become very rare through a long-continued program of eugenic control. The identification of those family strains that carry mental defectiveness is greatly to be desired, that they may be discouraged from reproducing themselves.

The prevention of war would do incomparably more to protect the biological heritage than any eugenic proposal that has been made. The real problem of eugenics is to raise the birth rate of the fit; to reduce that of the unfit will then be of minor importance.

Inherited racial differences exist, but they are exaggerated in popular thought. Ethnic groups differ less from each other than do the various family lines within an ethnic group. Furthermore, many characteristics which we consider typical of a given race change when their environment is changed, as by migration.

The race problem in the United States is not hopeless of solution. The Negro race is culturally rather than biologically inferior to the white race. In their native home Negroes had initiative and skill, and were both thrifty and industrious. They have been handicapped here by economic oppression and the lack of educational opportunities. Their great need is for a functioning

Negro society with Negro leaders and Negro institutions. It is their present social heritage rather than their biological heritage which is responsible for their position.

WORD STUDY

biological heritage	geneticist	identical twins
eugenics	germ plasm	Mendel's Law
gene		

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Explain the mechanism by which a child inherits equally from both parents.
2. Why are all characteristics said to be both hereditary and environmental?
3. Why is it so difficult to eliminate any recessive trait?
4. How might the number of cases of inherited mental defectiveness be reduced?
5. What environmental conditions may produce mental defectiveness?
6. What can be said of the social inheritance of so-called degenerate families? Should such families be placed in institutions? Why or why not?
7. In what way can society most rapidly improve the quality of the human stock?
8. Mention four pure races. Characterize the places where they live. What has kept them pure?
9. Why is it meaningless to speak of superior and inferior races?
10. Is there any trustworthy evidence that the white race has more native intellectual capacity than any other race? Explain.
11. Give evidence to show that the physical characteristics of various peoples are easily altered by environmental changes. What can be inferred as to the modifiability of mental characteristics?
12. What are the usual handicaps of a minority race? How do these handicaps appear to affect their intelligence, initiative, self-reliance, responsibility, ambition?

13. Are Negroes capable of creating and operating an all-round Negro society? What evidence have you for your answer?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Report on the Aryan myth in Germany under the Nazis. A pamphlet, *Who Are the Aryans?* by Margaret Schlaugh, can be obtained by sending thirteen cents to the Anti-Fascist Literature Committee, Room 502, 1457 Broadway, New York City.
2. Write a report on the Nordic delusion. What is a Nordic? Why are they said by some to be superior to all other races?
3. Report on the educational progress made by the Negro race in the United States since its emancipation.
4. Report on the economic progress made by the Negro race in the United States since its emancipation.
5. Review *The Negro in Literature and Art in the United States*, by Benjamin G. Brawley. Or cover this topic by using other references.
6. Prepare an exhibit of native African art. Objects or photographs may be obtainable from a museum in your locality.
7. Choose a committee of excellent readers to read to the class from *Readings from Negro Authors*, by Otelia Cromwell, L. D. Turner, and E. B. Dykes.

READINGS

- Boas, Franz, *Anthropology and Modern Life*. Chapter II, "The Problem of Race"; Chapter V, "Eugenics." A valuable reference. Easy reading. *The Mind of Primitive Man*, Chapters I-III.
- Fairchild, Henry P., *Foundations of Social Life*. Chapter IV, "The Ways of Heredity." Easy.
- Freeman, Frank S., *Individual Differences*. Chapter V.
- Jennings, H. S., *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*. Chapter X, "Eugenics." Difficult but worth while.
- Johnson, C. S., *The Negro in American Civilization*.
- Lowie, Robert H., *Are We Civilized?* Chapter IV, "Heredity."
- Miller, Herbert A., *Races, Nations, and Classes*. Chapter XII.

160 *How Important Is the Biological Heritage?*

Poponoe, Paul, and Johnson, Roswell H., *Applied Eugenics*.

A moderate statement of the eugenic position.

Reuter, Edward B., *The American Race Problem*. Chapter IV,
"Racial Difference."

Woodworth, Robert S., *Adjustment and Mastery*. Chapter VIII.

STORIES AND BIOGRAPHY

Johnson, J. W., *Along This Way*.

Washington, Booker T., *Up from Slavery*.

Woodson, Carter, *Fifty Years of Negro Citizenship*.

These three autobiographies of Negro leaders make vivid the other side of the race problem in the United States.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONSERVATION OF INTELLIGENCE

How does experience affect intelligence?

What do intelligence tests really measure?

What is genius?

Why does the city produce more men of eminence than the country?

How can society best protect itself from the mentally defective?

What kind of school program is best for the slow learner?

ALL HUMAN characteristics are both hereditary and environmental.

FOR A LONG TIME intelligence was thought to depend entirely upon inherited characteristics; according to this view an individual's intelligence was determined before his birth. In the early 1900's tests were devised for the purpose of measuring intelligence. At first the testers believed they were measuring native intelligence, that is, the inherited learning capacity of the individual. But gradually they were forced to the conclusion that every test they could devise always reflected the life experiences of the individual.

The genes apparently fix some sort of upper limit to the learning ability that may be developed, but the environment determines to what extent this inherited capacity will be realized.

What Is Intelligence? The intelligence of any person at any time is the product of two inseparable factors — his inherited capacity and his life experiences. This is his actual working intelligence.

Intelligence is revealed as the ability to deal successfully with a novel situation. The lower animals can-

not deal with novel situations; they are limited to instinctive patterns of behavior which are useful in meeting situations that have recurred again and again in the life of the species. When a lower animal meets a novel situation, he probably will perish. Higher animals and man are able to adjust to a variety of novel situations. This is because they have the capacity to see cause-and-effect relationships. The animal and the child learn by trial and error that a given action will lead to a given result. In adjusting themselves to new circumstances they have to make repeated trials; finally, after numerous errors, they may discover what is required. The adult can deal with the problem imaginatively and reach a decision by short-cut. His intelligence is more developed than that of the child or the animal because all his past experience is helping him to foresee the results of any action. If his past experience has been meager, then he too must resort to the trial-and-error process of solving his difficulty. In this particular situation he displays less intelligence than another individual whose experiences have given him a variety of solutions which he can manipulate imaginatively. Because people have such different experiences they display very different degrees of ability in meeting a novel situation. A person may be very intelligent in one situation and much less so in another.

The Measurement of Intelligence. The makers of intelligence tests try, so far as they possibly can, to exclude the effects of unusually favorable or unfavorable life experience. They search for questions and problems about which they believe all individuals of the same age have had equal opportunities to learn. But it is very difficult to find any question or problem about which all individuals have really had equal opportunity to learn.

Intelligence tests are constructed to measure the "in-

telligence quotient" of the individual. An intelligence quotient of 100 is considered average. It means that the chronological age and the mental age of the individual are identical. That is, if the mental age of a child is ten at age ten, twelve at age twelve, fifteen at age fifteen, etc., his intelligence quotient (I.Q.) is 100. If he has a mental age of eight when his chronological age is ten, then his I.Q. is only 80, and he is a slow learner. A child with a mental age of twelve and a chronological age of ten has an I.Q. of 120, which is very superior.

Half the population of the United States is thought to range between 92 and 108 in intelligence quotient. These are persons of ordinary intelligence. One fourth of the population is below 92 and one fourth is above 108. Those below 92 are likely to be noticed as dull or slow, but most of them can meet the ordinary demands of life. They do not possess much judgment and cannot think rapidly. Unlike the dull, those above 108 in I.Q. think quickly, and readily adapt themselves to a variety of situations. From this gifted quarter of the population come the leaders in every walk of life.

How Intelligence Tests Reflect Environmental Differences. Despite all the efforts of the makers of intelligence tests, they have been unable to construct tests that measure native learning capacity. Every intelligence test also measures environmental handicaps and advantages.

Urban children do better, as a group, than do rural children of the same age. This must be a sign of superior schooling, or a more stimulating environment outside of school, or both. Tests made by army psychologists during the World War showed a marked superiority of northern over southern Negroes. Northern white soldiers stood higher than southern white soldiers. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the quality

of schooling and of the variety of experience in the industrial and urban North as compared with the rural South.

In a recent study made in New York City, the Negro children had as high an average standing in intelligence tests as the white children. In school systems where the races go to separate schools, and where the schools reserved for Negroes are inferior to those for the whites, the white children do better on intelligence tests than do the Negroes. It has been found that those Negro children who have lived longest in the North receive the highest scores on intelligence tests, a single year making a measurable difference. This might be partly due to a gain in self-confidence and ambition.

Among groups of Europeans who have emigrated to the United States at various times and have taken intelligence tests, those who have stayed longest make the highest scores. This shows that intelligence tests reflect the assimilation of American speech and customs. Even when the tests given are in the form of picture puzzles, completion of an unfinished drawing, and other problems not requiring the use of language, the immigrants who have lived here longest do the best.

Studies made of the intelligence of identical twins are particularly interesting. Identical twins are exactly alike in their genes; therefore, they must have exactly the same native intellectual capacity. Yet when identical twins are separated in childhood and brought up in different homes, their I.Q.'s may differ as much as twenty-four points. Studies made of ordinary twins and of ordinary brothers and sisters brought up in different homes indicate the same conclusion — that the kind of intelligence measured by intelligence tests may improve when the environmental conditions are improved.

This conclusion does not mean that there is no such



BEETHOVEN ALONE WITH HIS GENIUS

thing as native intellectual capacity. Among individuals of very similar background and training, there are marked differences in the ability to make a high score on tests. These differences are best explained as due to inherited differences in capacity.

Special Abilities and Disabilities. People inherit differences not only in general intelligence but also in special abilities, as those for music, mechanics, arithmetic, spelling, language, drawing, and dancing. Most individuals have some special abilities and some special disabilities. Some of the kinds of special ability are: (a) ability for abstract thought, as shown in reasoning, mathematics, comprehension in reading, etc.; (b) ability in motor (physical) activities, including mechanical skill; (c) ability in social relationships, including the ability to perceive the reactions of other people; (d) creative ability in music, drawing, poetry, drama, and other arts.

In some cultures one type of ability is more valued than others. Our society places much emphasis on the ability for abstract thought, particularly for skill in the use of language. Some societies attach little value to this type of ability. Perhaps they prize unusual skill in the use of the body, fine craftsmanship, imagination in social relationships, or the ability to invent new forms in art. In some cultures the individual is most valued who can enter into an imaginative relationship with the universe, from which he creates great poetry or reveals new religious insight. Religious geniuses in modern society are more likely to be scorned than to be honored, since our society prefers the contribution of scientists and businessmen. Our society is also inclined to belittle talent in poetry, acting, the dance, and other imaginative skills. Obscurity and poverty were the lot of the great naturalist-painter Audubon and Stephen Foster, creator of "The Old Folks at Home."

Do Tests Forecast Vocational Success? The principal use of intelligence tests is for vocational guidance. They are widely used by school authorities in planning the program of individual pupils, particularly as to the kind of courses to be taken in the high school. But this is really a kind of vocational guidance.

A high score in a general intelligence test indicates unusual learning ability in situations that require thought. After taking such a test a group of children were classified as bright, average, and dull. Then they were tested for skill in sorting cards, once before practicing and once after practicing. Little difference in learning ability was shown. This indicates that dull children might be as successful in an occupation requiring a simple motor skill as average or bright children would be. A test in learning a secret code of writing showed that the average and bright children had an advantage over the dull children. In a third test

the children were given practice in solving problems which involved logical reasoning. Here the learning ability of the three groups showed marked differences. The dull children made no progress, the average children made a little, and the bright children a great deal.

The young person can most wisely choose a vocation after his special abilities and disabilities have been determined. Musical aptitude tests accurately reveal ability to profit from instruction in music. There are reliable tests to measure quickness of response, co-ordination, and other skills which indicate fitness, or lack of it, for training as a chauffeur, mechanic, draftsman, telephone operator, telegrapher, typist, bookkeeper, and the like. The wider use of such tests would save a great deal of vocational maladjustment.

To forecast an individual's success in a vocation, we need to know more than his general intelligence and his special abilities and disabilities. We also need to know his emotional qualities — the strength, uniformity, and direction of his inward drives. This is not entirely a matter of physical energy, since some of the world's great men and women have had inferior health. It is rather a question of attitudes. Does this person have strong, well-directed interests of a sort recognized by his society? Is he courageous, purposeful, self-confident? Does he secure the co-operation of others and do they like him? Is he mature or immature in the way that he faces obstacles? The answers to these questions enable us to foretell the individual's likelihood of success.

Genius. To very few is given the ability to create. Most of us can only repeat what others have done, can only imitate the models left by the great. The very able may improve upon the model, may invent small variations. But genius invents new forms, pushes back the frontiers of human thought, reaches new pinnacles of expression. Shakespeare, Dante, Newton, Beethoven,

Wagner, Wordsworth, Whitman, Burbank, Edison, Einstein, are among the giants of our race. Genius refers to the highest and rarest forms of creative ability. Whether or not it requires very high general intelligence, or whether it requires only superlative ability in its own field is uncertain. It is known that the genius is likely to be greatly gifted in many different lines. He often interests himself in an extraordinary variety of activities, perhaps becoming distinguished in fields as unlike as music, the drama, military campaigning, and politics. Genius is accompanied by intense and powerful emotional drives. Those who possess it appear to have remarkable qualities of feeling and imagination which give them inward experiences beyond the reach of ordinary mortals.

Terman's Study of Gifted Children. A study made by Terman of children with extremely high intelligence quotients is of interest. It was found that most of these children came from homes of superior social status. In such homes the parents would be well educated and would have leisure and means to pursue numerous intellectual and artistic activities. This would provide a stimulating environment for the children. These parents would use words accurately, with fine distinctions of meaning, which the children would acquire and use early in life. But intelligence is partly the ability to make fine distinctions; the intelligent person is very discriminating in the use of words and of materials. Hence we should naturally expect a high proportion of gifted children to come from the culturally better homes, and this is just what Terman found.

In the group of children studied by Terman there was a slightly higher percentage of boys than of girls, yet the three with the best intelligence scores were girls. In general, the gifted children were tall, heavy, well nourished, strong, swift, above average in desirable

character traits and nervous stability, and rarely gave any evidence of mental unbalance. Only time can tell whether some of these children will demonstrate the rare creative ability we know as genius.

Clarke's Study of American Authors. Edwin Clarke made a careful study of one thousand leading American authors of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He found that sixty-eight families conspicuous for literary power furnished nearly one sixth of these authors. He wished to determine whether these families possessed exceptional native ability for writing, or whether their creativeness might be explained by their manner of living. It appeared to Clarke, as a result of his investigation, that the way of life of the distinguished families was such as to stimulate any spark of literary talent possessed by their members. Books and learning were highly rated by these families, and their children grew up in an atmosphere of unusual culture, daily exposed to excellent conversation, and to association with parents and adult friends whose education, professions, and avocations were exceptional. Parents who themselves were well versed in the arts, who mingled with professional people, and expected their children to prepare for the professions, could appreciate and direct the talents of their children early in life when such appreciation and direction are most effective. Clarke concluded that superior home life had at least as much to do with the creativeness of these sixty-eight families as had inherited ability. Of the entire group of a thousand authors he found that, in proportion to their number of children, families in comfortable circumstances had produced more literary men than families living in poverty, and that city families made a better record than rural families.

This and similar studies of great families suggest that genius develops when social and economic status



ABRAHAM LINCOLN — UNKNOWN RAILSPLITTER AND IMMORTAL
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

is superior, and when cultural opportunities are easily accessible. Under these conditions intelligence is stimulated and encouraged to the utmost. The less favorable the conditions, the greater must be the inborn capacity of the individual who succeeds in making his genius known. Upon close scrutiny the home life of the great man who rose from poverty is generally found to have been of exceptional quality. Abraham Lincoln, for example, came from a family whose intellectual interests and moral standards were higher than the average of the times. They had distinguished friends who lent books to young Abraham and encouraged his efforts to advance. Few as were his opportunities, they were better than those of the average child on the frontier. History proves the rarity with which genius rises from either rural or urban poverty. When a single tuft of grass shows itself above a board lying on the ground, we can be sure that there is a knothole which permitted

this individual plant to succeed where all its companions failed.

The Mentally Defective. Unfortunately there are some individuals who can learn little even under favorable conditions. Those lacking in so many kinds of ability that they cannot maintain themselves unaided in competition with normal people are said to be mentally defective. When carefully trained and supervised, most of the mentally defective are able to earn a living. Some of them, however, fail to earn a living, or become delinquent; these are known as feeble-minded. In the United States there are about 500,000 feeble-minded, of whom only ten per cent are in institutions.

The mentally defective can be divided into three groups. The most numerous group are the *morons*. Anyone whose intelligence quotient falls below seventy-five and above sixty is a moron. The moron never exceeds a mental age of twelve, and may range as low as seven years in mental ability. The moron can earn a living in sheltered occupations or under especially favorable conditions, but cannot compete with normal individuals. Many of this group are loyal, reliable workers, willing to take monotonous and heavy jobs in factories and on farms.

The *imbecile* is lower in capacity than the moron. His intelligence quotient is less than sixty, and his mental age is between three and seven years. He cannot earn a living, and his condition is so defective that it is sure to be recognized. Still lower is the *idiot*, with a mental capacity less than that of a normal three-year-old child. He must be protected and handled as a little child throughout life. Both imbeciles and idiots require so much care that parents usually seek to place them in institutions. There are not nearly enough institutions to take them all, and in rural sections they must generally be kept at home. The helplessness, irresponsibility, and

frequently the disgusting habits of these defectives create a painful situation for other members of the family. A normal child who has to live with an imbecile or idiot is severely handicapped, and his whole development may be warped.

Protecting Society from the Morons. It is the morons who constitute the most serious problem to society. Morons are several times more numerous than imbeciles and idiots together. As the population contains two or three per cent of morons, it is quite impossible for any but the worst cases to be kept in institutions. While a moron's condition can be detected at five or six years, often it is not recognized until he is ten or twelve. Several years of school failure finally force recognition of his defectiveness, but by this time he has been embittered by unjust punishment and ridicule. He has become convinced of his inferiority, and may have compensated for it in making as much trouble as possible. Discouraged by his school failures, and uninterested in activities in which he knows he cannot succeed, he may drift into stealing or other delinquency.

The moron whose condition is recognized early, and who is given suitable training, may become a useful person. He must be carefully guided into a vocation that will not make too great demands upon him. As he cannot adjust himself quickly to new situations like unemployment, and as he easily becomes discouraged, he is likely to need more or less supervision and assistance throughout life. Were all morons to receive appropriate training and supervision, society would surely benefit by a marked reduction in the rates of crime, accidents, dependency, and preventable sickness, while from this unfortunate group of people would be lifted a crushing burden of misery.

Special Classes for the Mentally Retarded. Morons are not the only group who need special training if they

are to be saved from lives of failure and despair. Perhaps ten per cent of the children in an average elementary school are unable to profit by ordinary methods of teaching. They are below eighty-five in intelligence quotient, and learn more slowly than the average child. They can work more successfully with objects and materials than they can with words and numbers; for this reason they are sometimes spoken of as "hand-minded." Emotionally they are like other children, suffering acutely from their school failures. Non-promotion, misbehavior, and early withdrawal from school are usual with them.

One way of saving them from hopeless discouragement is to place them in a special class with others like themselves. Here they need not compete with pupils far more gifted, and here they may work at their own pace. In the special class learning takes place by doing rather than by reading and listening. Emphasis is placed on the skillful use of the hands, and on habits of neatness, obedience, thoroughness, and steadiness. Academic work is reduced to a minimum and is limited to what is most practical and concrete. What a favorable environment can do for subnormal children is described by a teacher of a special class:

These children came, heads hanging or defiant, with the habit of failure ground in through three or more years of school and perhaps more at home. They came with no self-respect, no childlike happiness, but with the impulse of self-preservation strongly in the foreground, and all the consequent antisocial actions. I had to find, first of all, something for which I could praise each warmly. For this the arrangement of our room, a little shack in a far corner of the school grounds and the simple Montessori material gave ample opportunity. Two weeks later the children looked like different creatures. Their heads were up and their eyes were happy. I remember how my heart sank when one little Mexican girl arrived. She looked like a trapped

wild animal, suspicious, sulky, and so ugly and heavy that I wondered what on earth I should do with her. Since then I have often longed for an artist's ability to paint her. She became the epitome of life. . . . She was often exotically beautiful.

The crushing effect of the lockstep system on these children was illustrated in one boy of twelve. He apparently had no voice. Physical examinations, however, showed no organic defect. I found that in arithmetic, where he was somewhat surer of his ground, his lips gave forth the ghost of a sound, whereas in reading or in anything else, his lips would move obediently but would utter no sound whatever. It was merely a matter of building up confidence. So I praised his arithmetic extravagantly, even when the combinations were below five, and gradually a voice emerged. By the end of the year his arithmetic voice was normal, and his reading voice audible close by. At the end of the second year we had all forgotten there ever had been a speech difficulty.¹

Some educators believe that instead of placing retarded children in special classes by themselves they should be kept in regular classes with their own age group. But instead of the kind of teaching that is now usual in regular classes, these educators would substitute an activity program in which the pupils would co-operatively plan and carry out all sorts of projects, field trips, and useful community work. Abstract, verbal learning would be kept at a minimum, except for those pupils who prefer to study from books. Book learning would be rated as less important than learning to work and play and plan in a group. Ease and joy in social relationships would be the test of success in school; competitive marking would be abolished. In this kind of school, it is claimed, pupils of almost every degree of ability could participate happily. Advocates

¹ Blanche Weill, "The Montessori Method and Subnormal Children," *The Call of Education*, December, 1925, pp. 283-92.

of this program even assert that normal and gifted children would benefit greatly from participation in a program of real-life activities democratically planned by the entire class.

Conclusion. Intelligence depends on two factors — inherited capacity and life experience. Few individuals ever develop all of their inherited intellectual capacity. In many cases the environment is not sufficiently stimulating. In other cases the individual's attitudes (the product of his early experiences) hold him back. Even the superlative creative ability we call genius cannot assert itself and win recognition in surroundings that are unfavorable. The culturally better homes produce a high proportion of gifted children. Studies made of twins reared in different homes indicate that the intelligence of any child might be improved were he to be brought up in a superior home.

The mentally defective are seriously lacking in mental capacity. They can develop but little intelligence even under the best of conditions. However, the most numerous group of mental defectives — the morons — can be trained to become useful members of society. Their great need is for an environment that is not too demanding and in which they are encouraged to put forth their best effort.

The large group of school children who are mentally retarded are capable of much higher mental development than most of them now attain. They need to have school experiences in which they can succeed; they also need to learn to participate in social activities with others of their own age. They enjoy work with their hands, and like practical activities which bring immediate results. Recent studies of how these slow children learn suggest that normal children can also benefit from a more practical and active program than is found in the average school.

WORD STUDY

feeble-mindedness	imbecile	moron
genius	intelligence quotient	special ability
idiot	mental defectiveness	special class

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What is intelligence? Upon what two factors does it depend?
2. What is the common weakness of all intelligence tests?
3. What do intelligence tests indicate regarding the respective ability of city and country children? How do you explain this result?
4. What do intelligence tests indicate regarding the ability of Negroes?
5. Is it known that the intelligence quotient of a child can be improved?
6. Describe four types of mental ability.
7. How do you account for the fact that sixty-eight American families furnished nearly one sixth of the thousand leading authors of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Why did the city families contribute more authors than the rural families? What kind of environment would you recommend for a child whose parents want him to be a writer?
8. State the facts found by Terman in his study of very intelligent children. Will these children produce works of genius?
9. What is the relationship between high general intelligence and learning ability as applied to (1) a motor skill, (2) memorizing a language, and (3) solving abstract problems?
10. Does high intelligence forecast success? Explain.
11. Will genius in any line be sure of recognition? Explain.
12. Are geniuses usually considered successful men by their neighbors? How do you account for your conclusion?
13. Explain the method for computing an intelligence quotient. Within what two scores does half our population probably range?

14. Under what conditions can a moron be a useful member of society? Why do morons often become antisocial?
15. Why are not all imbeciles and idiots placed in institutions?
16. Explain the value of special classes for retarded children.

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Appoint a committee to report on the care of the feeble-minded in your state. Where are the homes for these unfortunates? Are there "colonies" for those who are eventually to return to the community? How are commitments made? What program is followed?
2. Why should morons be carefully supervised throughout life?
3. Write a paper on "The Education of the Slow-Learning Child." This is the title of an excellent book by C. P. Ingram.
4. Write a paper on the educational needs of the gifted child.
5. Little provision is yet made in most public schools for the gifted child. Why is this a social waste?
6. It is said that the existence of hereditary differences tends to be underrated in a democracy. What harm and what good might result from this?
7. Appoint a committee to review the book *Youth Serves the Community*, by Paul Hanna.
8. What practical activities are planned and carried out by classes in your school system? Do you think there should be more of such activities?

READINGS

- Beach, Walter G., *An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems*. Chapter IV.
- Bogardus, Emory S., *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*. Chapter X.
- Freeman, Frank S., *Individual Differences*. Chapters IV and V.
- Hanna, Paul R., *Youth Serves the Community*.
- Hollingworth, L. S., *Gifted Children; Psychology of Subnormal Children*.
- Ingram, C. P., *Education of the Slow-Learning Child*.
- O'Connor, Johnson, *Born That Way*. Chapters II and VI.

UNIT V



THE FAMILY A MIRROR OF SOCIAL WELFARE

CHAPTER X. THE FAMILY AND ITS FUNCTIONS. Types of families; the primitive family, the great family, and the modern small family. Changes in marriage customs; the declining power of husbands and parents. The increasing marriage rate. Evolution of the functions of the family.

CHAPTER XI. BROKEN HOMES AND THEIR CAUSES. Number of broken homes. Causes of divorce; legal causes tell little. Difficulties following divorce. Causes of unhappy marriages: (a) differences in background, (b) lack of training for marriage and parenthood, (c) marriage and divorce laws.

CHAPTER XII. THE FAMILY'S STANDARD OF LIVING. Real income. Four standards of living; families on each level. Methods of supplementing income: (a) gainful employment of wives and mothers, (b) family wage system, (c) guidance for the consumer.

CHAPTER X

THE FAMILY AND ITS CHANGING FUNCTIONS

Why was the great family more stable than the modern small family?

What functions are performed by the family?

What tragic waste of cultural resources results from the uneven birth rate among the various economic classes?

How is success in family life measured today?

A VARIETY of motives impel people to begin family life: sex desire, professional advantage, social distinction, economic security, social pride, and others. The one legitimate reason is the desire to have a full home life and the willingness to learn to love the kind of experiences of close and affectionate contact that distinctly belong to the home.

ERNEST R. GROVES

How the Modern Family Developed

WITHOUT doubt the family is the earliest human institution. It is the most important institution even today. It has not always been the kind of family that we now know. It has changed as culture has developed, and will doubtless continue to change in the future.

The Primitive Family. The very first men are believed to have lived in a kind of family group known as the horde. A score or more of adults and children lived together, with the strongest male for a leader. They remained together as they roamed the forest in search of food, for only in a band could they protect one another and their helpless little ones from enemies. What kind of marriage existed in the horde is not known. Probably every member of the horde was devoted to all the children and ready to defend them.

Several types of family developed as culture advanced. Generally a number of relatives lived together in the same household. One of the earliest families is known as the *matriarchate* (mā'trī är'kāt). In this form the husband went to live in the family to which the wife belonged, and henceforth owed allegiance to her father or to whoever was the strongest man in her family. The children took the mother's family name. The early Romans had this kind of family organization. In most groups the matriarchate was gradually replaced by the *patriarchate* (pā'trī är'kāt), in which the wife joined her husband's family. She and her children were regarded as the property of her husband's family and took the father's name. In both the matriarchate and the patriarchate, each member of the family was under the absolute control of the most aggressive or strongest male. He ruled every detail of the family life, and enforced its customs by severe punishment, even death. If his mother still lived, he commanded her, too.

At first the bride was simply captured by her husband. This custom still prevails among tribes living in inaccessible portions of the Caucasus Mountains. The bridegroom, mounted on horseback and assisted by his best friend, hides near the home of his intended wife until, when she goes for water or on some other errand, he finds the opportunity to steal her. In many primitive tribes the custom of bride purchase⁷ arose long ago. The custom of providing a dowry for the bride is of more recent origin. Sometimes the father could demand the return of the dowry if his daughter was abused.

The choice of a mate was formerly very rigidly controlled. In primitive societies only men of a certain age and clan were eligible as husbands, and only women of a certain age and clan were eligible as wives. In



A CAUCASIAN TRIBESMAN CAPTURES HIS BRIDE

some groups the woman must come from the same clan as the man, but in others marriage within the clan was forbidden. When the man must find his wife outside his own clan, he was generally limited to some one or two other clans designated by the customs of his group. But even within this small number of possible brides, or bridegrooms, the selection had to be approved and arranged by their families. Marriage, then, has always been regarded as the concern of society. In every marriage the welfare of the community is at stake.

Forms of Marriage. Polygyny, the marriage of one man to several wives, was common among primitive peoples. Both in a herding and in an agricultural group the labor of the additional women and children was an economic asset. The first wife generally welcomed the bringing home of other women to come under her authority and to share her work. Where polygyny

exists, the widows of men killed in war are soon re-married, and no woman remains single. Polyandry, the marriage of one woman to several men, generally brothers, is far less common. It is usually the result of extreme poverty of environment which has led to the practice of killing most of the female infants. A group which practices polyandry is not able to maintain its numbers.

Pair marriage, *monogamy*, was found in the same communities in which polyandry or polygyny was practiced. It has always been the most common type of marriage, and in many groups finally became the only recognized form of marriage. The acceptance of monogamy as the standard marriage has led to many interesting social changes. The most important result is the great improvement in the position of wives. Our modern customs of courtship, romantic love, and the growing equality of the sexes were made possible by pair marriage.

The Great Family and the Small Family. The small household composed only of a married couple and their children is an institution of recent appearance in society. It expresses modern economic conditions and the modern spirit of individualism. In the United States today every couple seeks to establish a home separate from relatives. Even the presence in the home of aged parents is often thought to be a burden and a handicap. However, among one hundred American families that have been in existence less than five years there is an average of forty-four relatives.

On farms it is still not uncommon for the son to remain with his parents after his marriage. Because he expects to inherit and continue the farm business, it is to his advantage to stay on his parents' place. Frequently, however, a separate house is built, or else the parents divide their house in two. This strong desire

to maintain a separate household arises only in societies where great emphasis is placed on the right of every individual to be self-determining — to decide for himself, without interference by his relatives. In pre-machine cultures there is no such urge for independence. The protection, counsel, and assistance of one's kinsfolk are highly valued. To live with relatives is regarded as normal and desirable. If the young support the old, they do so in full confidence that their own declining years will be similarly taken care of. Of course the old are still productive in a pre-machine culture; there is always plenty of work they can do to help keep the household going. The young people are glad of an extra pair of hands.

The large household, or the great family, is much more stable than the small modern family. At all times it includes several generations. The common interests and activities of the household perpetuate themselves year after year. Family customs arise and are continued because there are always some members of the family who, at any particular time, wish to observe them. If grandfather loses interest in the Yuletide, the children do not forget to celebrate it. If one of the married couples has no children, they will find other children in the household to love and to instruct. When a woman's husband dies, she still has the companionship and protection of the other men of the family. One death cannot disrupt the great family. Its members have a security which is quite unknown in small households.

In America the ties of kinship seem to be growing steadily weaker. Relatives not only live in separate houses but frequently in separate states. Those in whom the kinship bond was strongest were not likely to migrate to the New World. The rapid westward movement, the invitation of free land, the gold rush, the amazing improvement in transportation, all contributed

to divide groups of kinsfolk. Space triumphs in the end over the desire to communicate, and relatives lose touch with one another. Yet we still acknowledge that our kinsfolk have a special claim upon us, and we expect more consideration from them than from our friends. The interest displayed by many Americans in tracing their ancestry is one proof that the ties of kinship have not entirely disappeared.

Individualism and the Choice of a Marriage Partner. In our society parents and kinsfolk are seldom permitted to interfere with the individual's free choice of a mate. Far from exercising control over the founding of a new family, they may not even be consulted. The finding of a mate is regarded as a great adventure rather than as a serious responsibility. Emotion and not intelligence is expected to determine one's selection. The lover thinks only of the personal traits of the beloved person, and imagines that he has found the one in all the world with whom he can be happy.

Wherever marriage is arranged by the kinsfolk of the young people, emphasis is placed on family status, cultural background, and economic considerations. The kinsfolk assume that there is no one man or woman with whom their young relative can alone be happy, but that he can be happy with anyone who has the qualifications and status they consider necessary. That an individual could find happiness while disregarding the wishes and the welfare of his kinsfolk was rarely even imagined in pre-machine-age culture.

It should not be thought that married people loved each other less because their union had been arranged by their families. Even in parts of the world where the young couple have never seen each other until the wedding day, married people are generally deeply attached to each other. Human emotion expresses itself, for the most part, in the channels prepared for it by society.

We must not interpret the experiences of other peoples by imagining how we would feel if obliged to conform to their ways. If we had their customs we would have been prepared from childhood to accept them, and would cherish the values that go with them. We would, for instance, believe that parents and relatives know much better than young people how to choose marriage partners.

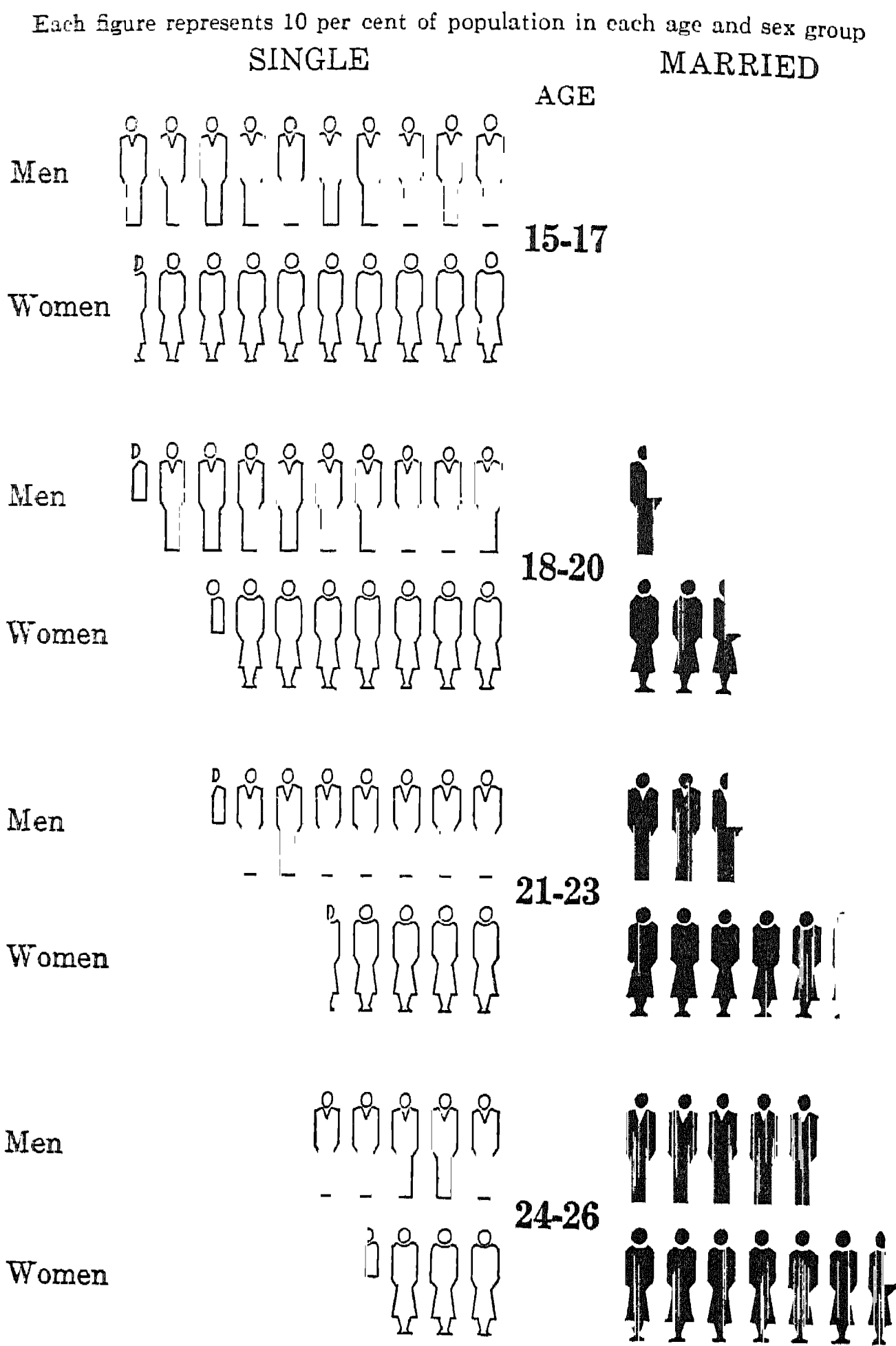
Marriage Always a Public Ceremony. The custom of celebrating marriage is very ancient. Its main purpose was to make sure that everyone knew about the new relationship, so that no question could arise as to the allegiance of the bride or — in a matriarchal society — of the bridegroom. If the custom of inheritance had developed, then the celebration of the marriage settled the question of who would inherit the bride's property. To this day marriage involves a public ceremony. Society is represented by the licensing officials and those who conduct and witness the ceremony. Marriage is always based on a legal contract which defines the way in which the man and wife shall live together, and the economic conditions of their union. The kinsfolk of the married couple have, by custom, certain duties, obligations, and legal relationships to them and to each other. It is generally to the advantage of all concerned, especially the newly married pair, to have the marriage known and recorded.

The Declining Power of Husbands. Under the English family system, brought here by the early settlers, the husband was lord and master of the home. The wife's legal existence was almost extinguished. Her property passed to her husband on the wedding day unless reserved by a solemn pre-marriage contract. He could waste, consume, or sell it at his pleasure, and often assigned it at once to his creditors. On the other hand, he had to pay any debts for ordinary purchases (not

luxuries) incurred by his wife either before or after the marriage. He was bound to maintain her by supplying the comforts and necessities appropriate to his fortune and station. He was liable for frauds committed by his wife and for damages in suits arising from her negligence. He could be sent to jail for her misdeeds.

In 1839 Mississippi gave married women the right to hold and acquire property, followed in 1848 by New York, Indiana, and Pennsylvania, and in 1850 by California and Wisconsin. Then the states began to give married women control over their own earnings, which formerly had belonged to their husbands. There is still one state, Georgia, in which the married woman's earnings are her own only if she is living apart from her husband. The right of the husband to will away his children was also gradually curtailed, until today there remains but one state in which this may be done without the mother's consent. Under the common law, the father retained possession of the children in case of divorce, even though his bad conduct was the reason for the granting of the divorce. This cruel custom has now been abolished in the United States; in fact some feel that the divorced father's interest in his children is today insufficiently recognized. As divorce laws were made more and more lenient, especially in the middle and far West, the old tradition that a wife must remain with her husband in spite of everything, disappeared. By making it easier for a wife to divorce her husband, the law has imposed upon men the necessity of considerate treatment of their wives. In these and in other ways the individuality of the wife has received more and more legal recognition. In eight states she may even claim a separate domicile for such purposes as voting, holding office, and serving on juries.

The Declining Power of Parents. Among the first settlers in America the parents had complete authority



Source of data:—Abstract of United States Census, 1930
Courtesy of Building America

Per Cent of Marriages by Age Groups

over their children, except that they did not have the power of death. The first step in reducing the power of parents came in Massachusetts in 1642, when an act was passed requiring officials in each town “to take ac-

count of the ability of children to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of this country." After the Revolution the rights of parents over their children were gradually whittled away. Education became compulsory, and the amount of schooling prescribed steadily increased. The labor of children as apprentices and in factories began to be regulated.

In 1836 Massachusetts enacted the first child-labor law in the United States, requiring that children in certain factories should be taught to read and write. In 1842 this state forbade the working of children under twelve years of age more than ten hours a day in factories. By 1850 the rights of children were protected by statutes and judicial decisions in many states. To-day the father is no longer master in his own family. He is forced to send his children to school, to submit to health regulations (vaccinations, quarantine, etc.), to keep his children out of certain occupations, and to accept the ruling of the juvenile court on the treatment of a delinquent child.

The Increasing Marriage Rate. Today a somewhat larger proportion of our population is or has been married than at any earlier date for which there are statistics. This increase is partly due to the ever smaller number of common law marriages. (Common law marriages used to occur frequently on the frontier and were

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION 15 YEARS OLD AND OLDER
THAT HAS EVER BEEN MARRIED, 1890-1930

	<i>Per Cent of Males</i>	<i>Per Cent of Females</i>	<i>Per Cent of Both</i>
1890	53.9	56.8	55.3
1900	54.5	57.0	55.7
1910	55.8	58.9	57.3
1920	59.2	60.6	59.9
1930	60.0	61.1	60.5

not recorded. The bridegroom simply took his bride home and, without any ceremony, declared her to be his wife.) However, after making allowance for this change, there is reason to believe that a real increase in the number of marriages has taken place.

It is interesting to consider what are the chances that any particular individual will marry. A girl is more likely to marry than is a boy. Of all females born in the United States 78.2 per cent will marry. Of all males born in the United States 74.1 per cent will marry. Women marry at an earlier age than men. The median¹ age at marriage of all classes in the United States is estimated at 25.6 years for males and 22.4 years for females.

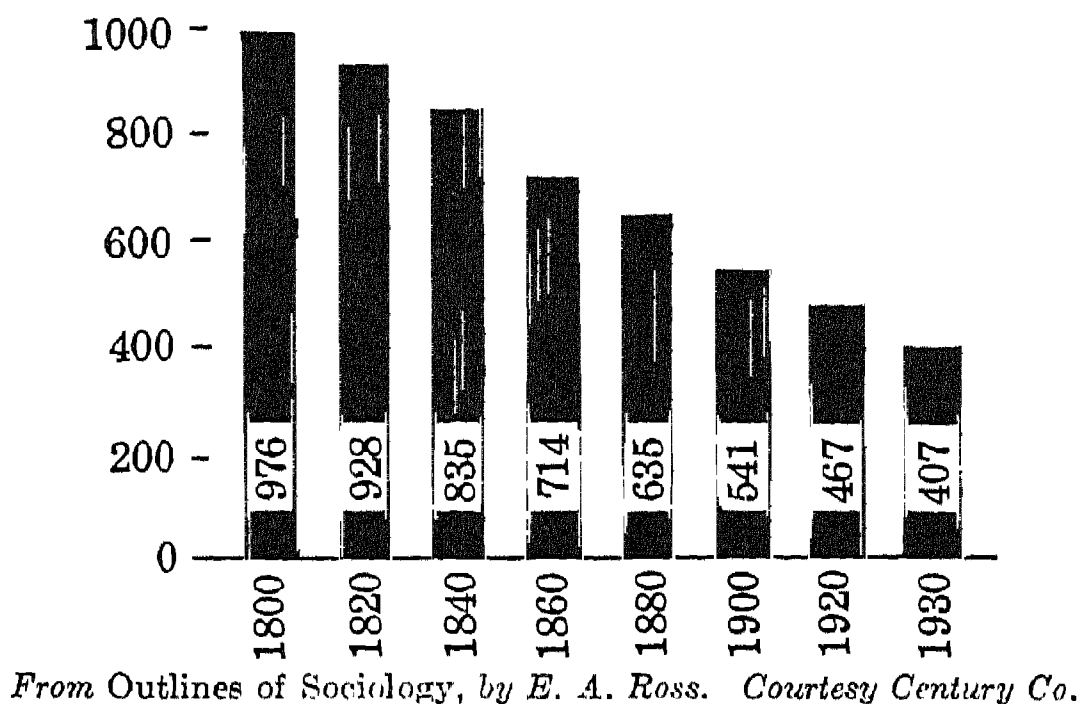
The Functions of the Family

As the earliest and most essential of all institutions, the family has numerous functions to perform. These have varied somewhat from age to age, now one function being emphasized and then another. Today the functions of the family are undergoing a very remarkable transformation. By some this transformation is deplored, by others applauded. Our attitude toward these changes will not affect them very much, for they are being brought about by the new conditions of earning a living, of living in cities, of frequent moving from one place to another. As we examine the present trends within the family we shall see the process by which the material customs, as they change, make over the non-material customs.

The Biological Function. The human urge to mate and have children is so powerful that society has always sought to direct its expression. In the simplest cultures

¹ Median: the middle item of a series arranged in order from lowest to highest. If the ages at which 99 men were married are set down in order from lowest to highest, the fiftieth item will be the median for the group.

which we know anything about, there are powerful sex taboos and strongly upheld marriage customs. Primitive men have very different morals from ours, but they are never without morals. Our own sexual morals are in transition, relationships which degrade women being now increasingly frowned upon.

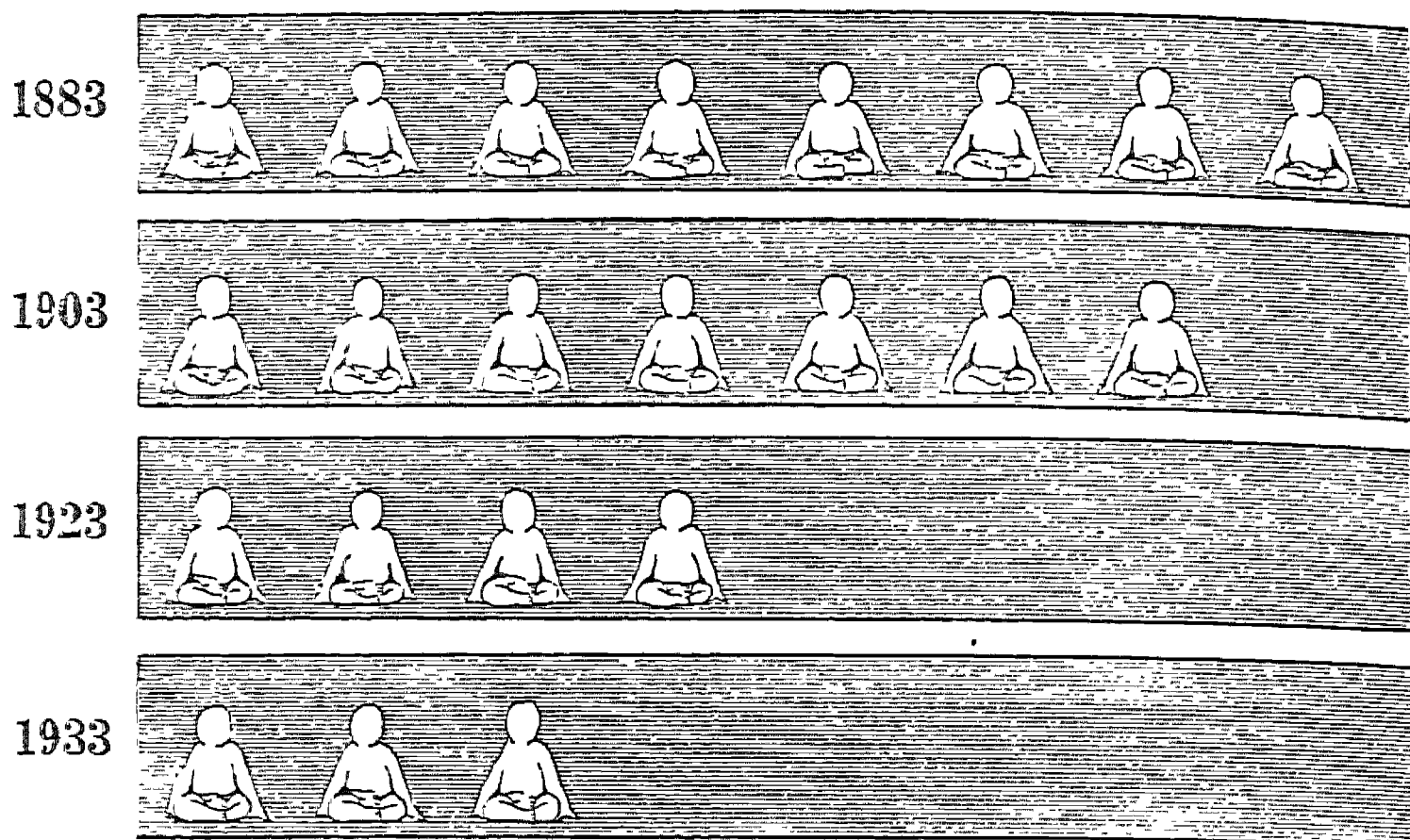


Ratio of Children under Five Years of Age per 1000 Women Aged 16 to 44 Years in the United States

The number of children born per married couple has decreased markedly in the last century. While the birth rate has dropped, the death rate has also dropped, especially among babies and children. Even since 1915 the decline of the birth rate and the infant mortality rate is impressive.

The infant mortality rate has dropped still faster

Year	Birth Rate per 1000 Population	Deaths of Infants under One Year of Age per 1000 Live Births
1915	25.1	100
1920	23.7	86
1925	21.5	72
1930	18.9	65
1935	16.9	56



Deaths under one year per 50 births

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Infant Mortality

than the birth rate. The waste of child life, with all the suffering it brings, has in twenty years been cut nearly in half. Children add more satisfaction to the life of their parents today than formerly, because they are now so much more likely to survive. Mothers are being freed from the burden of bearing many children that a few may grow up. The child-bearing period is shorter, and the mother's health is less depleted. When she has brought up her family, she still has years to live and strength for work and for enjoyment. She can more easily be a person as well as a mother. This is a true cultural advance.

If every ten couples should have twenty-five children, the population would remain stationary. However, some couples are childless. In 1930 it was estimated that among every five wives of forty to forty-four years of age living with their husbands, one had never borne a child. With two in every ten couples childless, seven of the remaining eight couples must have three children each, and one couple must have four children, in order

to maintain the population. It is believed that our population will become stationary in the near future, perhaps by 1950. Present indications are that thereafter it will begin to decline.

There is a remarkable difference in the number of children born to a hundred couples in various occupational groups. The size of family decreases as one ascends the scale from the lowest-paid to the best-paid occupations. A study made in 1929 of mothers between the ages of forty and forty-four inclusive brought out clearly the relation between number of children born and the husband's occupation.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN TO MOTHERS
OF 1929 (AGES 40-44) AND NUMBER LIVING
(BY OCCUPATION GROUPS)

<i>Occupation Group</i>	<i>Children Born</i>	<i>Children Living</i>
Mining	8.9	7.4
Agriculture	8.2	7.3
Manufacturing and Mechanical Transportation	7.4	6.3
Domestic and Personal Service	6.9	6.0
Public Service	6.6	5.7
Trade	6.5	5.7
Clerical Occupations	5.9	5.2
Professional Service	5.2	4.7
	4.8	4.4

Why the poorer people have larger families is a very complicated question. Farmers can easily provide food and shelter for numerous children; besides, the assistance of the children is an economic asset. But why do miners, factory workers, and unskilled laborers have more children than businessmen, clerks, private secretaries, teachers, and doctors? There are several explanations. The well-educated classes marry much later

in life than do other classes of the population. This fact alone goes far to explain their lower birth rate. Besides, they struggle harder to improve their economic status, and during the period in which they are trying to get ahead in the world, children are a serious burden to them. Moreover, they are unwilling to have children unless they are reasonably sure that they can provide an excellent home, adequate medical care, and a college education for every child.

But it is precisely the better-educated classes who are better able to care for and train large families. They can give their children an exceptionally fine start in life. Cultural advance might be vastly hastened if a way could be found to encourage the well-educated couples to have many children. One fourth of the married people of this country will produce one half of the next generation. Suppose this fourth could be chosen from the best-educated sections of the population. Half of the next generation would then come from comfortable and beautiful homes, would have received a high level of physical care, schooling, well-bred associations, and diversified experience. Would such a generation not contribute mightily to the advance of our culture? Unfortunately, the better-educated classes are not even maintaining themselves. They have few children to whom to transmit their exceptional cultural heritage.

The population is replenished from those who, by lack of opportunity, poor health, or inferior ability, have on the whole the most meager cultural heritage to give to their children. Ten per cent of the married couples of the present day will in five generations be responsible for ninety per cent of the entire population. What a tragic waste of cultural resources, that this prolific ten per cent has already been chosen from our least prosperous and poorest-schooled classes! The only hope of improving this situation appears to lie in reducing the

economic handicap which children now constitute to the middle-class married couples.

The Economic Functions. The word "economics" originally meant "the art of the house." The family was once the most important economic group. Its members co-operated to produce practically everything the family used. All found useful and steady employment within the family circle. Each family owned a house, homemade tools and furniture, farm animals, and either owned or had the use of sufficient land on which to grow the family's food supply. Money was little needed and little was in circulation. Unless disaster befell the entire village, no family ordinarily suffered want. If a house burned, or the family oxen died, or the head of the family was ill, there were numerous kinsfolk close by to come to the aid of their unfortunate relatives. Hard work and frugal habits were seen unfailingly to promote the welfare of the family; one could not expect to get anything without labor; but one's labor was nearly sure of bringing a return in foodstuffs, clothing, firewood, or other useful articles.

When cottage industry arose, the family began to handle money and to buy things the production of which would have taken excessive labor. They could earn more, perhaps, by spinning and dyeing yarn for sale than if they used the same time to make everything the family required. This division of labor made for greater efficiency. More goods were produced, and the standard of living began its slow upward climb. At this stage, too, the home furnished employment to every member of the family, young or old. But with the Industrial Revolution and the advent of the factory, spinning, dyeing, weaving, and shoemaking rapidly left the home. One by one, other industries followed. The women and children at first, and later the men, went to the factory to labor.



IN THE PERIOD OF COTTAGE INDUSTRY EVERY MEMBER
OF THE FAMILY WAS KEPT BUSY

This profound alteration in the methods of production brought a greater abundance of goods, and in the long run lower prices and shorter hours of labor. Yet the individual family was worse off than before. For many of the ordinary necessities of life the family was now dependent on the wages its members could earn in factories. As one productive process after another left the home, the family became increasingly dependent on a money income. Its economic function had altogether changed. Instead of producing at home, it chiefly consumed at home. Its economic welfare was no longer under its own control. It could no longer give productive employment to its members.

Rural families still produce some of their own needs, although the mail-order catalog has penetrated every-

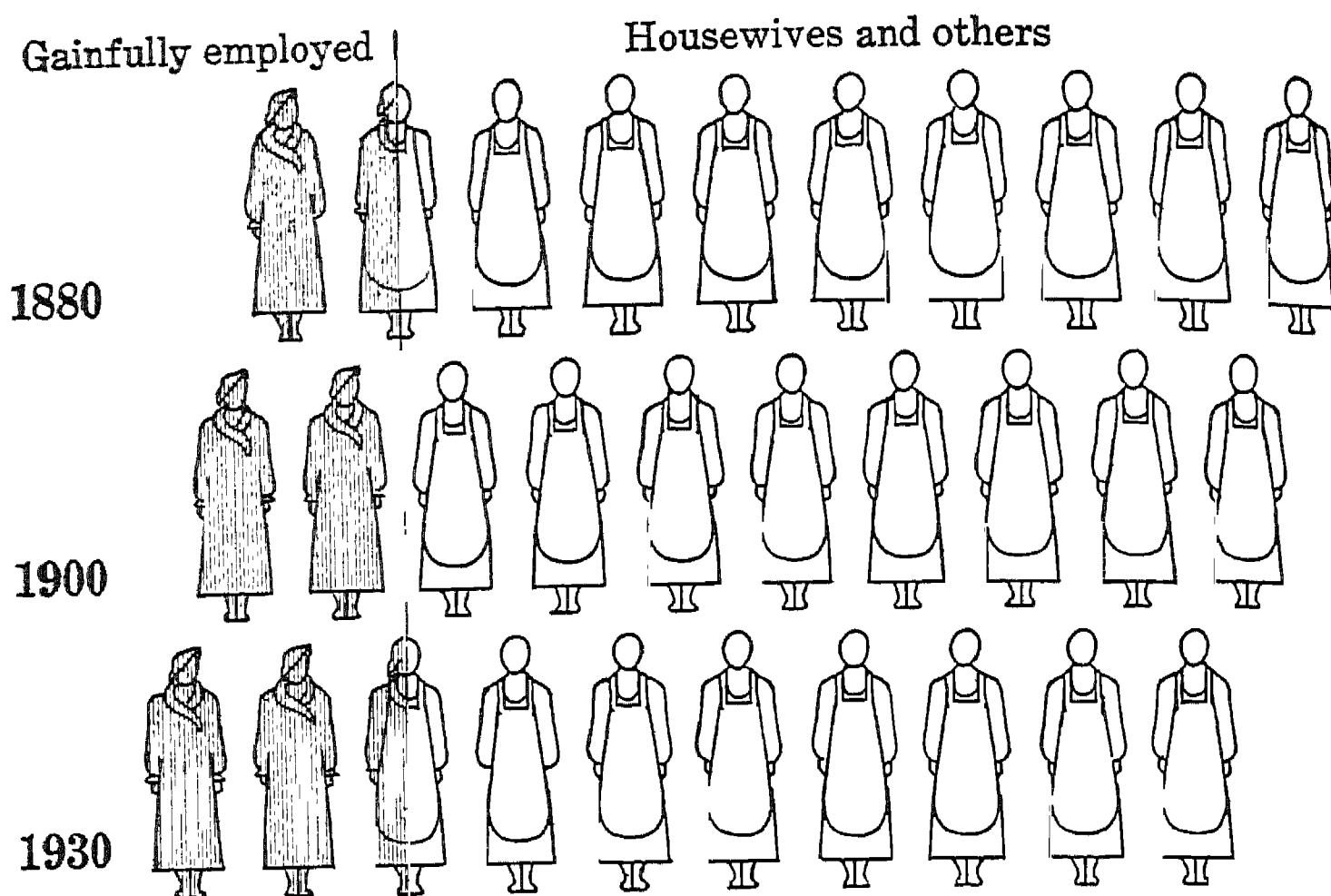
where. A recent study made in the Kentucky mountains indicates that a variety of manufacturing is still carried on in these isolated homes.

PERCENTAGE OF HOMES CARRYING ON MANUFACTURE

Churning	96%	Shoemaking	1%
Fruit canning	99%	Shoe repairing	48%
Fruit drying	86%	Spinning	8%
Pickling of fruits and		Weaving	1%
vegetables	94%	Quilting	67%
Hog butchering	85%	Broom making	22%
Lard making	82%	Furniture making	4%
Sausage making	35%	Soap making	76%
Salting of meat	57%		

These homes are in transition. Fifty years ago the percentages would probably all have been in the nineties. A century ago this would have been true for the overwhelming majority of American homes. We can hardly help but envy the security and independence of these families which supplied their own needs and provided productive employment for every member. But the trend continues to remove the last remnant of production from the city home. For instance, between 1920 and 1930 the number of restaurant and lunchroom keepers increased 88 per cent; cleaning and dyeing workers increased by 220 per cent; while workers in laundries increased 79 per cent.

The employment of married women outside their homes has steadily increased. About one in nine wives was gainfully employed in 1930. Numerous other wives add a little to the family's cash income by taking roomers or boarders and by part-time or occasional employment, such as substitute schoolteaching. In Chicago in 1930 it was found that the husband was the sole provider in only three fifths of the families of wage-earners.



Each figure represents 10 per cent of all women 16 years and over

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More Women Gainfully Employed

As production leaves the home, many women enter gainful employment. Some of them are married women. Others are single, widowed, or divorced. Nearly all of them have dependents or must help support their families.

The Protective Functions. Since ancient times the marriage contract has carried the promise to protect. The family was, for thousands of years, the sole protective institution. Nowhere but in their own homes could the sick, the wounded, the aged, the handicapped, the unruly, and the defective find refuge. The rural home still retains nearly all of its ancient protective functions. Not so the city home. Crowded city dwellings are unsuitable for the seriously ill. In the city the patient with a contagious disease and the individual who is feeble-minded are a menace to the public, and must therefore be removed to an institution. The delinquent child, largely a product of urban social conditions and home failure, requires the care of special community agencies. Sheer lack of space within the home drives

the aged, the handicapped, and those with chronic diseases into institutions.

Between 1909 and 1929 the number of hospital beds increased by 115 per cent. Today nearly one third of all babies are born in hospitals. The percentage of three-generation families living in one home has decreased from about ten per cent in 1900 to less than seven per cent in 1930. Compensation for industrial accidents, mothers' aid pensions, old-age pensions, visiting nurses, and training for the handicapped are helping the modern home to retain some of its protective functions. Without insurance or assistance from the community, the modern family generally cannot afford the long-time care of a sick or injured member.

In spite of its handicaps the modern home succeeds, in considerable measure, in protecting its members. There is much less crime, insanity, and pauperism among the married than the unmarried. The death rate of men from thirty to fifty years of age in the United States is more than twice as great for the unmarried as for the married. The mortality rate of young children in institutions is markedly higher on the average than in homes. There is, apparently, no satisfactory substitute for the personal, loving care of one's own family.

The Educational Function. The home is the transmitter of the social heritage. It is here that language is chiefly acquired, that religious beliefs are instilled, and that traditions and folkways are perpetuated. The home is the socializer or the corrupter of the individual, for it determines the child's basic attitudes — his selfishness or unselfishness, his desire to co-operate with others or to dominate them, his sense of responsibility to the community. The first idealistic patterns are learned at home. The most impressionable years are spent wholly within the family circle.

Only in the last century has the school taken an im-

portant part in the training of children. It is a question whether even today the school has as much total influence on a young person's character as the home. After formal schooling begins, the child still spends three fourths of his waking hours outside the school and mostly in the home. Unless the child's parents uphold the same standards of behavior that are taught at school, the school's influence may be largely counteracted.

The old-fashioned home trained the child to help in all its varied occupations. When a young man was ready to marry, he knew how to do everything needful in carrying on a farm and providing for a family. The young woman had for years been sharing the thousand tasks of the self-sufficient household. She was admirably prepared to be a wife and a mother. The farm home still gives much of this same valuable training. But the urban home does not. The city girl seldom learns even to cook or mend in her own home. In recent years the schools have undertaken to give courses in household and industrial arts, but they cannot provide the all-round practical experience which the home once afforded. In this respect modern young people are often less well prepared for a vocation and for home life than were their grandparents.

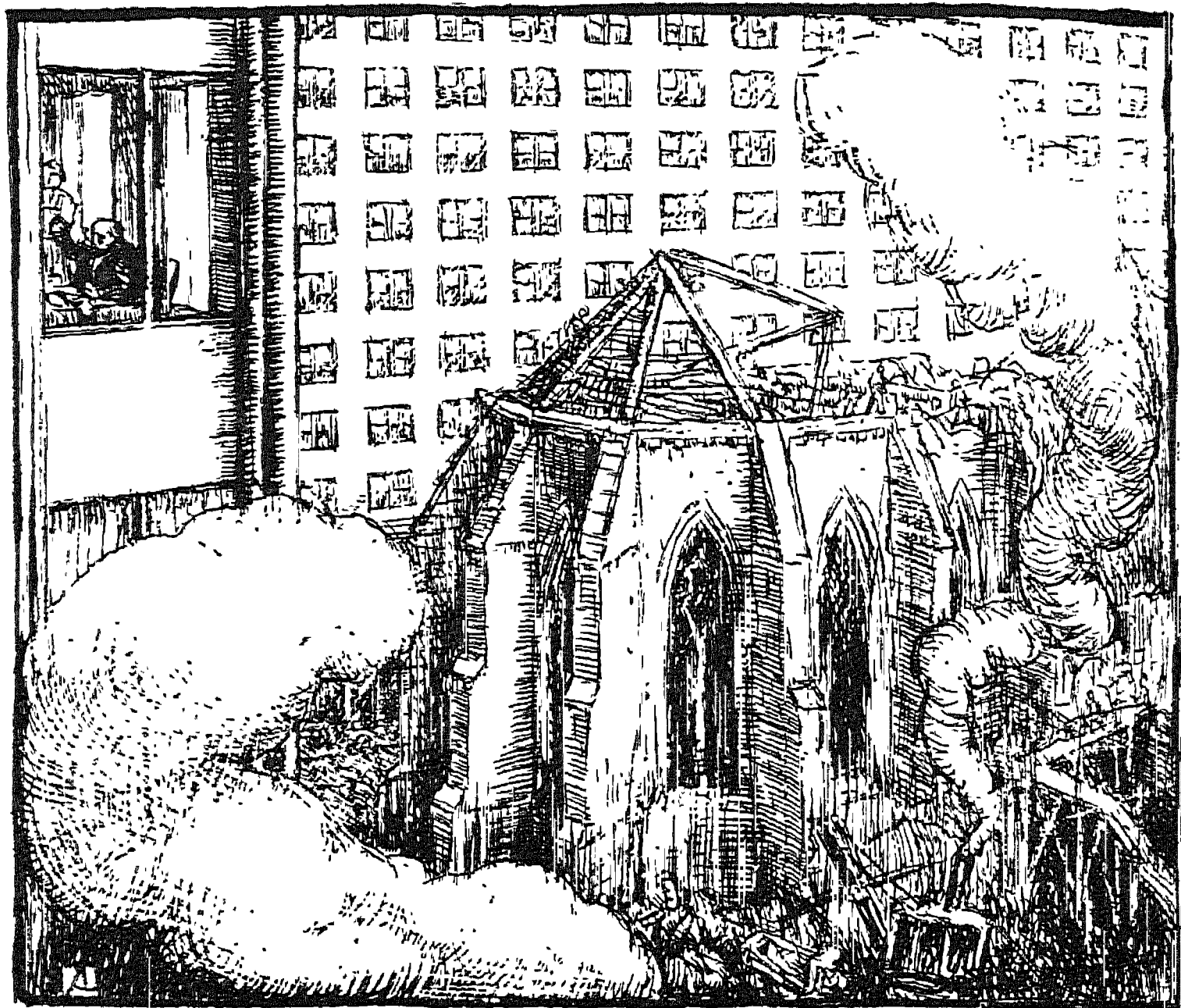
The Recreational Function. Our grandparents had practically no commercial recreation. Except for attendance at the theater and concert hall in the city, and the infrequent visits of traveling companies of actors or showboats in the country, recreation was homemade. The quilting bee, the building of a house, corn husking, and sugaring off were social occasions, to which the neighbors came to help and to make merry. Church picnics in the summer and "sociables" in the long winter evenings were, in many communities, frequently held. The singing school and the spelling match brought people together at the schoolhouse. Practically all of

these recreations were attended by family groups. The members of the family, if they went outside the home for recreation, did not go in separate directions as they often do today. Even visiting was a family affair; invitations generally included the children as well as their parents.

The average modern family goes outside the home for most of its recreations. Automobiling and attendance at the movies may keep the whole family together, but many diversions separate the parents from the children and the boys from the girls. Entertaining in the home, except in the country, and by the more prosperous classes, is almost a lost art. The radio alone offsets the tendency to leave the home for recreation.

The Religious Function. Since ancient times religion has been closely linked with the home. Marriage and the birth of children have always been marked by religious rites. In nearly all pre-machine-age cultures every dwelling contains a shrine dedicated to the gods. Grace before meals is a very old custom which grew out of the practice of making an offering of food at every meal to the household gods — the family's ancestors. A man greatly desired to leave numerous sons to worship his memory according to the traditional household ceremonies. Today these ancient traditions are being forgotten. The modern Protestant family may have only a religious picture or two on the walls, a survival of the times when the family altar was the most important part of the home.

A recent study of school children shows that only one American-born white child in eight participates in family prayers. There was little difference in this respect between city and country children. In the rural areas 85 per cent of the children questioned had gone to church with their families in the preceding month. In the large city only 40 per cent of the children had



WHERE RELIGION MUST MAKE WAY FOR MATERIALISM, THERE
SELFISHNESS WILL ABOUND

gone to church with their families in the preceding month. Twenty-two per cent of the rural children reported that the Bible was read aloud in their homes; only ten per cent of the city children reported family reading of the Bible. Religious education is generally neglected in the modern home; parents who value religious training often leave to the church school the whole responsibility for providing it.

The decline of the religious element in family life is a real loss. Religion emphasized the sacredness and dignity of the home, and taught the sense of mutual obligation and service. Without religion the duty of self-subordination, of generous co-operation with other members of the family, is more easily forgotten. Individualism may more easily go beyond reasonable bounds,

and friction and selfishness characterize the home relationships.

The Psychic Functions. Better than any other type of human association, the family satisfies the desire for affection and companionship at every stage of life. Friendships, too, help to fulfill the need for response, but they are fragmentary experiences in comparison with the intimate and long-continued association of the members of a family. In the closeness and permanence of the family tie is a wonderful opportunity for the achievement of the highest social values — love, devotion to duty, selflessness — and the flowering of the human spirit. The family is the true agency for socializing the individual.

In the past the family was often held together by economic necessity. None of its members, except, perhaps, the vigorous men, could hope for a living apart from the others. Away from her own home, a woman's lot was miserable indeed. Even so late as half a century ago, a married woman would endure much cruel treatment rather than leave her home, since away from it she had little chance of honorable employment. At best she might become a domestic drudge or a poorly paid factory worker with long hours of toil. Besides, divorce was frowned upon, and the divorced woman was disgraced.

So long as the members of the family were bound to remain together, few asked whether their relationship to each other was happy or unhappy. This question has become meaningful in recent years, with the new economic and social freedom of women as well as of men. Today the family is thought of much less as an economic institution and much more as an organization for providing affectionate companionship. Success in family life is now measured in terms of understanding, thoughtfulness, co-operation, and mutual respect among

all its members. The family that does not meet this test, however well it may fulfill its other functions, is regarded as a failure.

Happiness in family life comes with good adjustments between the husband and wife and the parents and children. Because each human personality is unique, the members of the family must consciously strive to understand one another. Sources of friction must be removed, compromises made, and interests and activities shared. The modern husband often assists his wife in the care of the house and the children. The sensible modern wife does not pretend to be unable to understand business; she finds ways to help her husband, not only with her hands but with her brains. She knows that at home he needs to relax and to forget the worries of the day; that, too, he needs encouragement to face the world again. Good family relationships help each one to a better adaptation to the outside world.

Society has never found any satisfactory substitute for the family in the rearing of children. Although good physical care can be provided in a nursery or other institution, and formal training can be given, there can be no such wealth of loving give-and-take as in the individual home. The feeling of belonging and counting for something in the lives of others; the chance to be an individual, uncrushed by the presence of numbers; the appreciation and unstinted love of adults — where can these psychic needs of the child be met if not in his own family? Only in families does individuality blossom. Were all children reared in institutions, they might be monotonously uniform in behavior.

As society has come to recognize the value of the home to the child, a greater effort is made to keep homes together. Widows are helped with mothers' pensions, that they may continue to have their children with them. Homeless children are placed by adoption,

in preference to putting them in an orphanage. The delinquent child, whose own home has proved a failure, may sometimes be reclaimed if a good foster home is provided for him. Through the guidance of visiting teachers and social workers, society tries to help the home that is on the verge of disaster. It is now seen that even an inferior home may meet deep-seated psychic needs which cannot be met by other agencies. With the growing realization of the true function of the family — the development of personality and the training of the individual to find his happiness in that of his group — society will give increasing attention to whatever conditions threaten to undermine the home. Of this we shall speak in the following chapter.

WORD STUDY

great family	matriarchate	monogamy	polyandry
horde	median	patriarchate	polygyny

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Self-determination was unknown in the primitive family. Explain.
2. What economic conditions favored polygyny? Polyandry?
3. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the great family?
4. In what ways has the authority of the husband been reduced?
5. To maintain our population how many children must be born to every couple having children? When will our population probably become stationary?
6. In what occupational groups are there most children per family?
7. Describe the economic function of the pre-machine-age family. How was this changed by the advent of cottage industry? What further changes came with the Industrial Revolution?
8. Poverty of individual families was once unknown. Explain.
9. The city family has lost some of its protective function.

Illustrate. How is the family being helped to retain its protective function?

10. Is the home more or less influential than the school in shaping the character of the oncoming generation? Explain.
11. How has the recreational function of the family changed?
12. To what extent does the modern family retain the religious function?
13. What is the most essential function of the family?
14. Mention ways in which society tries to keep together homes which, unassisted, might go to pieces.

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Make a list of home recreations popular today. List those that were popular a century ago and compare the two lists.
2. Prepare a report on the placing of orphans in foster homes. Find out how a good foster home is selected and how it is supervised. Perhaps a child welfare worker will talk to the class on this branch of her work.
3. Appoint a committee to report on the Borsodi colony at Suffern, New York. The idea behind it is explained in *Flight from the City*, by Ralph Borsodi, and in magazine articles.
4. Write a report on ancestor worship among some people in whom you are interested.
5. What qualifications in the bride or bridegroom are most desired when kinsfolk arrange a marriage? When the young people choose for themselves? Ask a good reader to read aloud to the class "Courtship and Marriage," pp. 202-3 in *Our Dynamic Society*.
6. Make a diagram to illustrate the fact that ninety per cent of the population in five generations will come from ten per cent of our present population. From what classes will it come?
7. Is success in family life measured by a severer test than formerly? Why?
8. In what ways is the modern home more democratic than that of former times?

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CHAPTER XI

BROKEN HOMES AND THEIR CAUSES

Are there more unhappy marriages today than formerly?

What difficult readjustments must be made by the divorced?

What is the danger in a marriage between two people unfamiliar with each other's background and kinsfolk?

Under what conditions is a marriage most likely to be a success?

When is the payment of alimony contrary to the social welfare?

What is a marriage counselor?

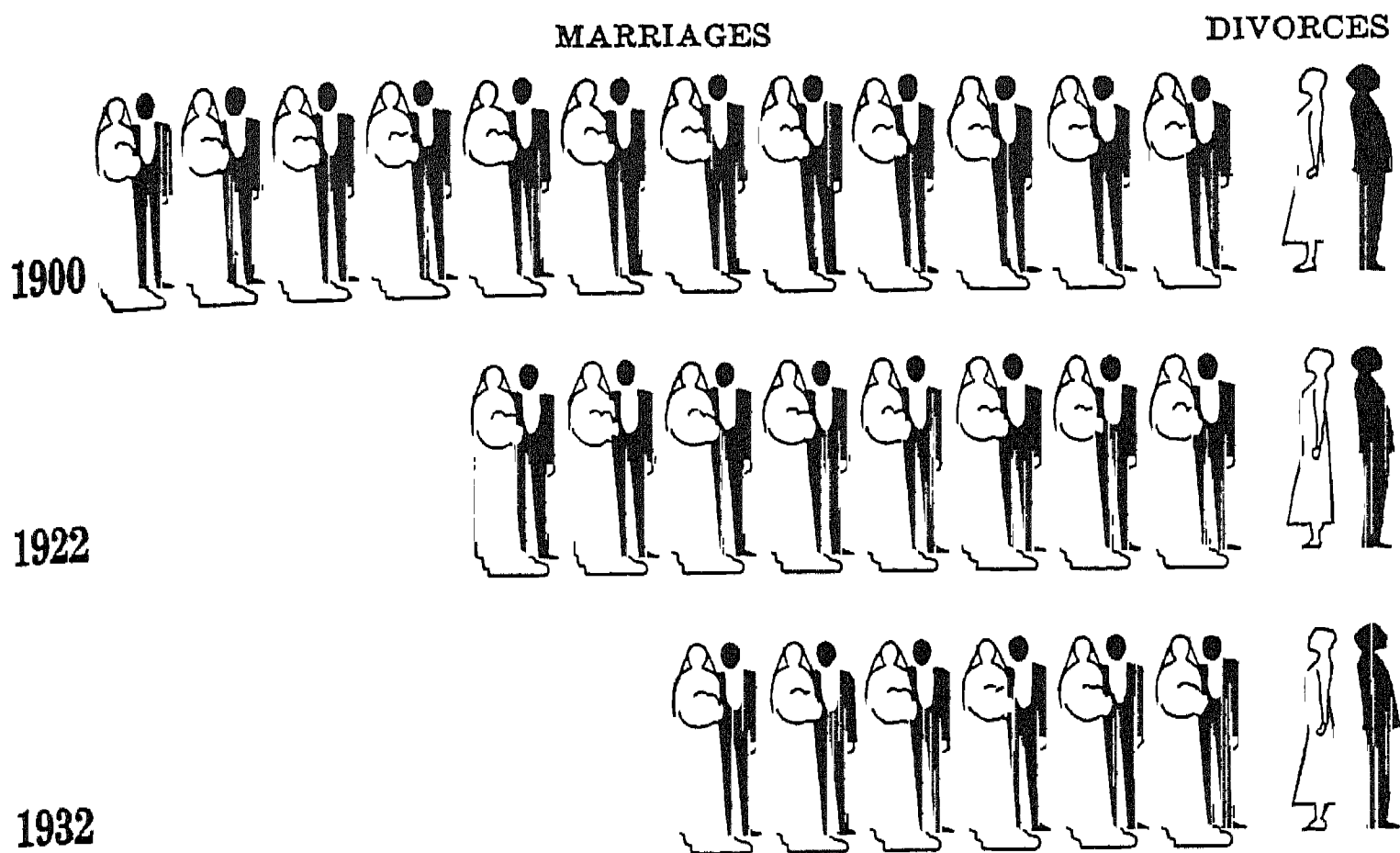
A HOME is not an accidental or natural coming together of human souls under the same roof in certain definite relationships; it is a work of art, to be builded upon fixed principles of life and action.

HENRY WARE

Divorce, a Social and Individual Tragedy

The Mounting Divorce Rate. The changes within the family are not being accomplished without pain to the individuals concerned. A great many people are bewildered and confused because of these changes. Trying to live by traditional ways, they have been forced to accommodate themselves as best they might to new conditions. They are likely to blame themselves and their marriage partners for things which are not really in their control. An example is the tension that often develops in a home where the wife is obliged to become a breadwinner. This is only one of the tensions likely to arise in the modern family. The result in many cases is a desire to escape from the marriage altogether.

The growing divorce rate is, in part, a reflection of the social maladjustments of our time. When social conditions become more stable, as they may in a generation or two, we may expect the divorce rate to drop.



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Ratio of Marriages to Divorces

In 1870 there were eight divorces per 10,000 married persons; in 1930 there were thirty-six divorces per 10,000 married persons. In 1870 there were thirty-three new marriages for every marriage terminated by divorce. In 1930 there were but six new marriages for every divorce.

The Proportion of Broken Homes. In spite of this enormous rise in the divorce rate, the proportion of broken homes is no greater today than formerly. This is because the number of homes broken by premature death is declining.

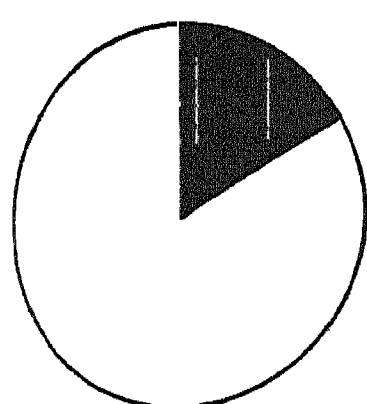
Broken homes constituted both in 1900 and in 1930 about one seventh of the total number of homes. During this period the homes broken by death decreased from 7.6 to 4.9 per cent of the total, while those broken by divorce, annulment, or separation increased from 6.7 to 9.8 per cent. A vast amount of individual tragedy is represented in all these broken homes. Besides, the social consequences are bad. When a home is broken,

there is no other institution that can perform for its members all the services they performed for each other. Undoubtedly the proportion of broken homes can and will be lessened by wise social planning. Just as the death rate can be further diminished, so can the conditions which cause an excessive number of divorces be corrected.

The Average Duration of an American Marriage. At the time it is contracted, an American marriage has the average expectation of continuing for 20.4 years before being broken either by death or divorce. The average duration of the marriage destined to end in divorce is seven years; that of the marriage destined to end with the death of one partner is twenty-three years. Should the divorce rate continue to increase, then, of course, the average duration of marriage will be reduced.

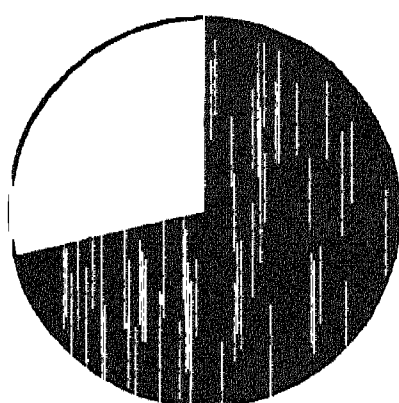
Children Involved in Divorces. Children were involved in only thirty-seven per cent of the divorces in the United States during 1929. The remaining sixty-three per cent of divorces were of childless couples. It should be remembered that the overwhelming majority of married couples have children; in view of this fact, the figures above suggest that couples having children seldom resort to divorce. The figures made in another study bear this out. (See chart on p. 211.) Eight per cent of couples having children are separated by divorce; seventy-one per cent of childless marriages end in divorce.

Undoubtedly children are a strong bond, a source of common interest and happiness, which tends to hold their parents together. On the other hand, parents often refrain from a desired divorce for the sake of their children. The idea that discordant, quarreling parents should remain together is, however, being given up. Severe and prolonged conflict in the home may be destructive of the mental health of children. Many care-



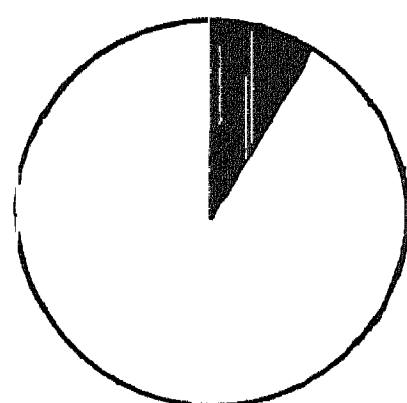
All Marriages

■ Divorce, 18%



Childless Marriages

■ Divorce, 71%



Marriages with Children

■ Divorce, 8%

From Statistical Analysis of American Divorce by Alfred Cahen. Columbia University Press, 1932

*Probabilities of Divorce according to Presence or
Absence of Children, 1928*

ful students now agree with a statement which, when first made nearly a generation ago, was startling:

In the vast majority of cases the children fare much better and their chances for arriving at a career of happiness and usefulness are greatly enhanced, if given into the custody of either parent than if compelled to be reared in the atmosphere of discord and contention.¹

Until about two generations ago women were afraid to seek a divorce for fear of losing the custody of their children. Now the children are usually given to their mother in case of divorce. In consequence, fathers are likely to try to persuade their wives against seeking a divorce. The occasional selfish mother has here a strong and cruel weapon against her husband. The mere threat of divorce places him in her power. Fortunately, most mothers value the contribution made by the father to the training and happiness of the children. If so, they seek to overcome the sources of conflict and to sacrifice every nonessential which chances to cause friction.

Causes of Divorce. Tabulations of the legal causes for divorce in the different states give us no clue to the

¹ James P. Lichtenberger, *Divorce, A Study in Social Causation* (Columbia University Press, 1909).

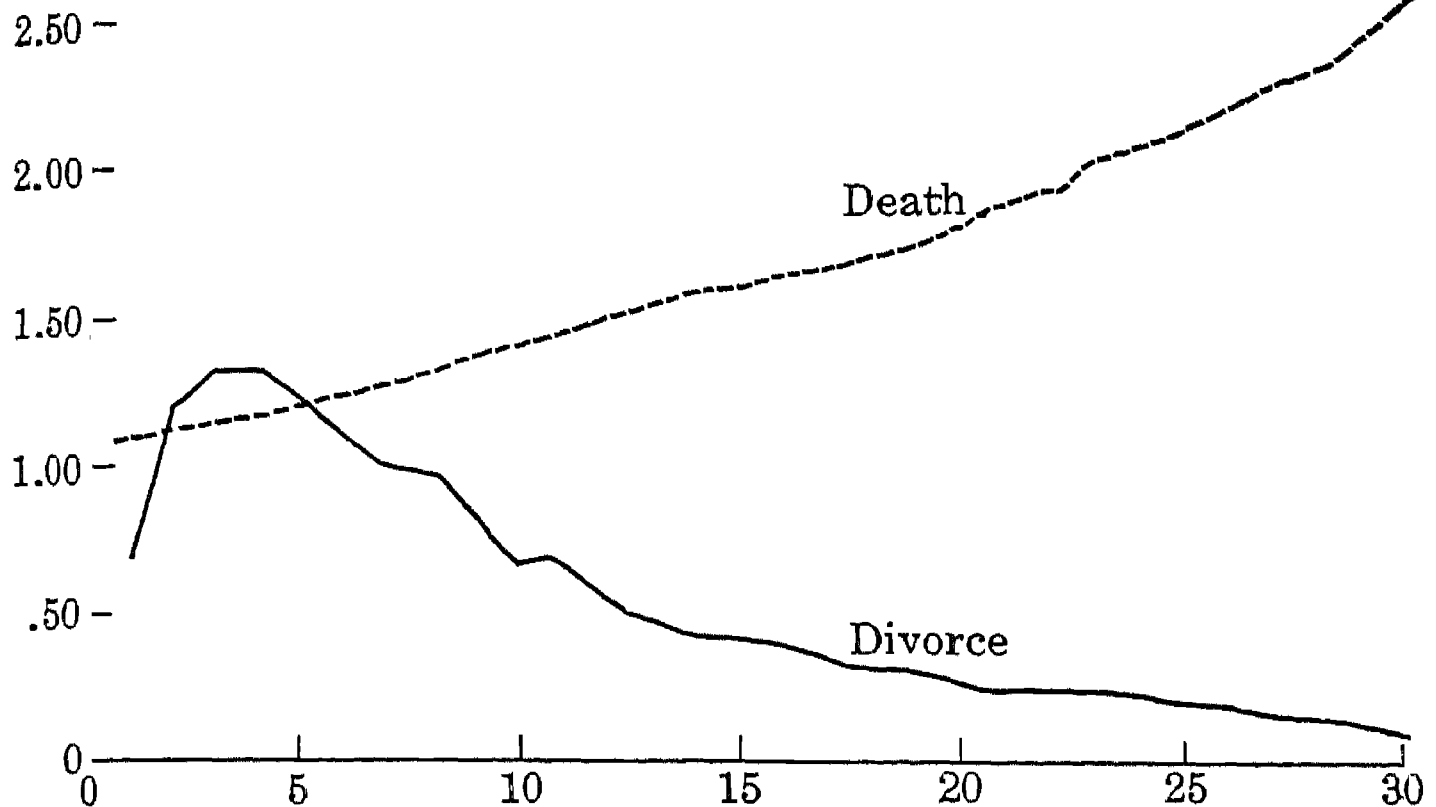
underlying difficulties. Divorce is sought on some one of the grounds provided by the state law; these vary widely in the several states. People naturally prefer to obtain a divorce without shame to either party; cruelty or desertion is very commonly stated as the ground on which the divorce is sought, since these are less disgraceful than some of the other legal grounds. Women obtain more than seventy per cent of all divorces. It seems unlikely that women are, on the average, less at fault than men for marriage failure. However, the law makes it easier for a wife to obtain a divorce than for the husband. Besides, it is generally regarded as proper for the husband to take the blame, at least in public. Since the children, if any, are usually given into the custody of the mother, the reluctance of fathers to part from their children may also be a reason for the smaller number of divorces granted to men.

In states which make divorce very difficult there are naturally fewer divorces and more desertions. Those who can afford it establish residence in some state where divorce is easy, remaining until the decree is obtained. There is no reason to suppose that states with a lower divorce rate than the average actually have fewer unhappy marriages. Nor is there any reason to suppose that more marriages are unhappy now than formerly. The difference is that divorce is easier and less frowned upon, and that women have greater economic independence now than earlier. Today public opinion no longer requires women to remain with selfish, unfaithful, or cruel husbands, unless they have no other means of support.

Most Divorces Occur in the Early Years of Married Life. Marriage always brings difficult problems of adjustment. The couple have to learn to live together, to find common and attainable goals, and to achieve a workable system of financial management and domestic habits. The

first years are the hardest; thirty-six per cent of all divorces occur during the first four years, and sixty-six per cent occur before the tenth year of marriage.

Per hundred married population
3.00 -



*From Statistical Analysis of American Divorce by Alfred Cohen.
Columbia University Press, 1932*

Relative Probabilities of Divorce and Death for First Thirty Years of Marriage, 1928

Most of the divorces occur in the early years of married life.

Difficulties of Adjustment Following Divorce. Many couples, discouraged by the problems which confront them, believe that divorce is an easy way out. Unconsciously, one may be seeking a way of punishing the other, or both may be inclined to run away from reality. In seeking a divorce, people usually think only of the troubles from which they are escaping, not of those which lie ahead. They imagine that divorce will permit a return to the freedom and happiness of the days preceding the marriage. They do not realize that the intervening experiences have left deep, never-to-be-eradicated impressions upon their personalities. Even

a single year of marriage, if the emotional tie has been strong, and there has been a whole-hearted attempt at companionship, cannot be forgotten. Love of the divorced mate often lingers long after the anger and wounded pride have died away. The very faults which brought about the divorce often come, in time, to appear unimportant, while the conviction grows that both were equally to blame.

After the divorce, the routine habits of everyday living must be rebuilt. Such homely tasks as caring for one's room and clothing, which were formerly attended to by or with the other, must now be done in loneliness. Social relationships must be reorganized. Some friends will drop the divorcé. Others he will avoid from fear of disapproval and unpleasant reminders of the past. The dread of a chance meeting with the former mate or the mate's relatives and friends may prove very disruptive to one's social and business relationships. In a small community there is the danger that divorce will ruin the business or professional standing of both parties.

Divorce often is but the prelude to a long period of personal disorganization. The solution that offers most hope is generally a second marriage.

The studies which have been made as to the percentage of remarriages by divorced persons are fragmentary and inconsistent. It has recently been estimated that one in every two divorced persons in the state of New York, outside of New York City, will sooner or later remarry, the average interval between divorce and remarriage being 3.4 years.

Whether a second marriage is more likely to be a success than the first, is also not known. The experience gained during the first marriage may cause one to be more tolerant and patient in the second. But if the first marriage failed because one was hard to get along

with, irritable, disagreeable, supersensitive, tyrannical, or because of some other manifestation of poor mental health, what reason is there to suppose a second marriage will be more successful? The advice of an understanding physician, and especially the advice of a psychiatrist, would be of value to many unhappy married people and to those who are divorced.

Some Causes of Unhappy Marriages

Many Factors Are Responsible. Many individual defects and social maladjustments contribute to unhappy marriages. In the following pages we shall consider briefly three factors which are often directly responsible for marriage failure: differences in background, lack of training for marriage and parenthood, and inadequate marriage laws.

Differences in Background. Poetry and fiction idealize "true love" and the notion that happiness depends on finding the one person who is destined to be the "soul mate." Photoplays and novels which end on the note "and so they married and lived happily ever after" both reflect and re-enforce the universal daydream of the unmarried — that the marriage appointed by fate (and recognizable by the emotional attraction between the lovers) is the gateway to a permanent state of bliss. Those of mature years and some experience in married life seldom accept this notion. They generally have come to the conclusion that true love alone is a poor foundation on which to build that most important of all human relationships, the family. When young people are guided by intelligence as well as by emotion, their choice of a marriage partner is more likely to stand the test of the years.

In former days the husband and wife usually came from the same village, where they had grown up under the same cultural influences. The problem of adjust-

ment to each other was, therefore, much simpler. Their fundamental habits, their manners, their systems of values, were harmonious. Both were acquainted with the other's relatives and knew the kind of family life to which the other had been conditioned.

The old saying, "If you want to know what kind of wife your sweetheart will make, look at her mother," has a sound psychological basis. Young people may rebel against the ways of their parents, may declare that they have adopted other models, but their very rebellion is proof of the strength of the childhood pattern. As one grows older, he is amused to notice that unconsciously he solves familiar problems in the way that his mother or father solved them. If the father expressed displeasure with his wife by sullen silence, two to one the son will follow the same method. If the mother nagged her way through marital difficulties, the daughter is likely to do the same. Under modern conditions the young couple often do not meet each other's relatives until after the marriage. In general they know little about each other's patterns of behavior within the home.

As formerly the parents were acquainted with the associates of their marriageable children, they could exercise considerable influence on the selection of a mate. They were unlikely to countenance marriage to a person of very different background. Because even grown-up children remained at home at least until marriage, the parents could make their disapproval of an unsuitable match strongly felt before it took place. Marriages were based not only on love but on the approval of the kinsfolk of both parties, which assured to the new family the sympathy, encouragement, and material assistance of their relatives.

All this has changed today. Less than half of our people are rural dwellers, and even rural young people generally go far from home to study or to work. They

make friends who also are far from home, often from other sections of the country. They may be of unlike religion or nationality. Marriages are frequently arranged without the knowledge of parents; in any case the parents probably know very little about the background of the prospective son- or daughter-in-law. If the parents and relatives disapprove the match, it may take place just the same. Although the new family can exist by itself, the lack of encouragement and assistance from the couple's kin is a real handicap. Often the disapproval of parents and relatives arises from the fact that the new son- or daughter-in-law has another background from their own. Their dislike may be nothing but a prejudice against a person felt to be an outsider. Nevertheless, marriage to someone not of one's own culture group is always extra-hazardous.

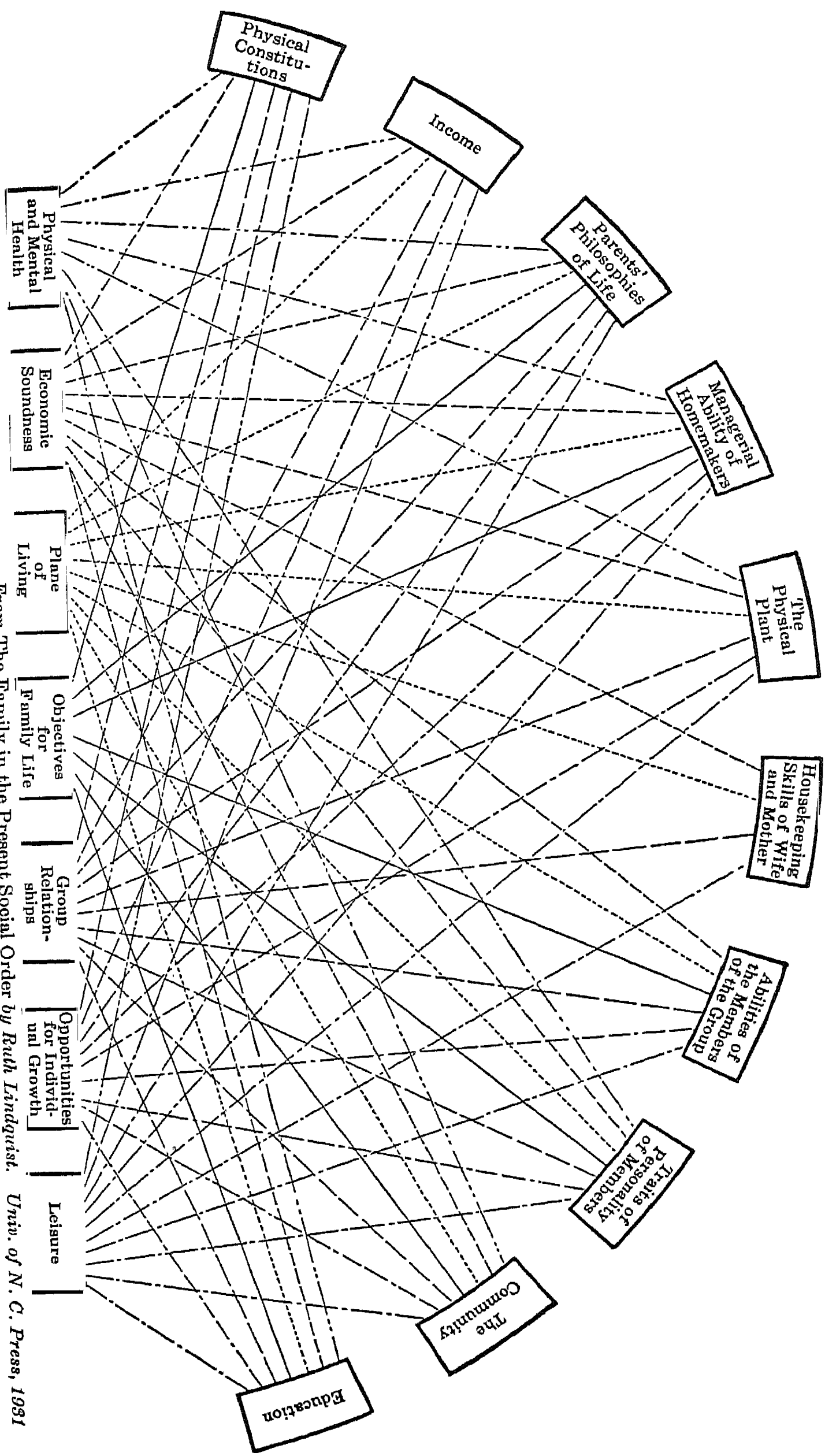
In America many marriages fail because of religious differences. A study was made some years ago of dependent families in a typical city. It showed a far larger proportion of mixed marriages (Catholic with Protestant) than the proportion of such marriages to the population. Mixed marriages bring not only difficulties of personal adjustment but usually the hostility of friends and relatives. Differences of race, as between Negro and white, or Oriental and white, present almost insuperable difficulties. However excellent the individuals, their fundamental outlook on life — their emotional and intellectual habits — are bound to be extremely unlike. Even if this were not so, a marriage which arouses the contempt and hatred of society has no chance of success. Where the difference is only of nationality, there is far less danger than when the difference is racial. Yet even a difference in education or in social standing has caused marriages to fail.

Difference in age is a threat to the permanence and depth of companionship of a married couple. Here there

are unlike viewpoints due to education and training in different decades, plus important physiological variations. In over forty per cent of the divorce cases studied by the Cincinnati Court of Domestic Relations, there was a difference of five years or more between the ages of husband and wife. This is significant, because the proportion of marriages with such an age difference among all marriages is only twelve per cent.

Now that companionship between husband and wife is valued so highly, it should be recognized that the more points of common interest between them, the better the chances for a successful marriage. The modern tendency for persons of unlike background to marry is probably a factor in the rising number of divorces. This illustrates two of the conflicting trends in modern culture. For most purposes the free mingling of persons of various races, nationalities, religions, and other culture groups is very desirable. In the family circle it may lead to difficulty.

Lack of Training for Marriage and Parenthood. In the typical self-sufficient home of a century ago, the girls learned every detail of homemaking, while the boys learned every branch of farm work and how to build and to make repairs about the home. When they married, each had a thorough and practical knowledge of carrying on a home. Moreover, the typical family was large; it was a laboratory for social discipline, in which the members were drilled in the unselfish give-and-take of family living. Modern young people seldom learn from their parents the special skills that are needed in homemaking. They are also likely to have grown up with few or no brothers and sisters; if so, they may not have learned to take responsibility for others and to share with others, and they may have retained a childish desire to be the center of the stage. Skill in adjusting oneself to others is quite as essential



Some Factors Affecting Achievement in Family Life

From The Family in the Present Social Order by Ruth Lindquist. Univ. of N. C. Press, 1931

to success in marriage as is skill in the processes of homemaking.

To some extent, courses in domestic science in high school help to prepare girls for homemaking, but they reach a very small proportion of those needing training. As a rule these courses cover only the rudiments of cooking and sewing. A college major in domestic science is an admirable preparation for carrying on a home; it stresses dietetics, the family health, home furnishing, methods of buying, and the business management of the home. Recently the colleges have added courses in the psychology and sociology of family life. These last are designed for young men as well as for young women. Certainly men need preparation for homemaking quite as much as women. When they are taught the basic principles of nutrition, household chemistry, hygiene, home repairs, budgeting, and social psychology, they will be much better fitted for family life according to modern standards. The application of scientific knowledge to every phase of homemaking depends on the training of both husband and wife.

Probably a working knowledge of mental hygiene would contribute more to family happiness than any other kind of training. Mental hygiene teaches us to look for the causes of faulty behavior rather than to regard it as due to deliberate badness. If a member of the family is irritable, bad-tempered, or "touchy," the difficulty may lie in some situation outside the home which is producing a sense of frustration or discouragement. Good strategy consists in helping the disagreeable individual to make a better adjustment to the situation, such as giving up an impossible goal, not in blaming him. Blame only adds to his mental difficulties. Similarly, success in handling children lies in learning and attacking the causes of their poor behavior. For instance, is the child's troublesomeness due to

his inability to get attention in some other way? Can he be taught a more desirable way for securing attention? Or is he reacting to the presence of another child in the home who seems to be more loved by his parents? The ancient custom of blaming an individual who is really mentally ill is responsible for much human woe. Perhaps if our high schools gave required courses in mental hygiene we might look for an improvement in family relationships.

Inadequate Marriage Laws. Law can only control external forms, never the inward spirit. It cannot reduce the number of unhappy marriages by making divorce more difficult. However, some lessening of marriage failure might result if the marriage laws were made stricter.

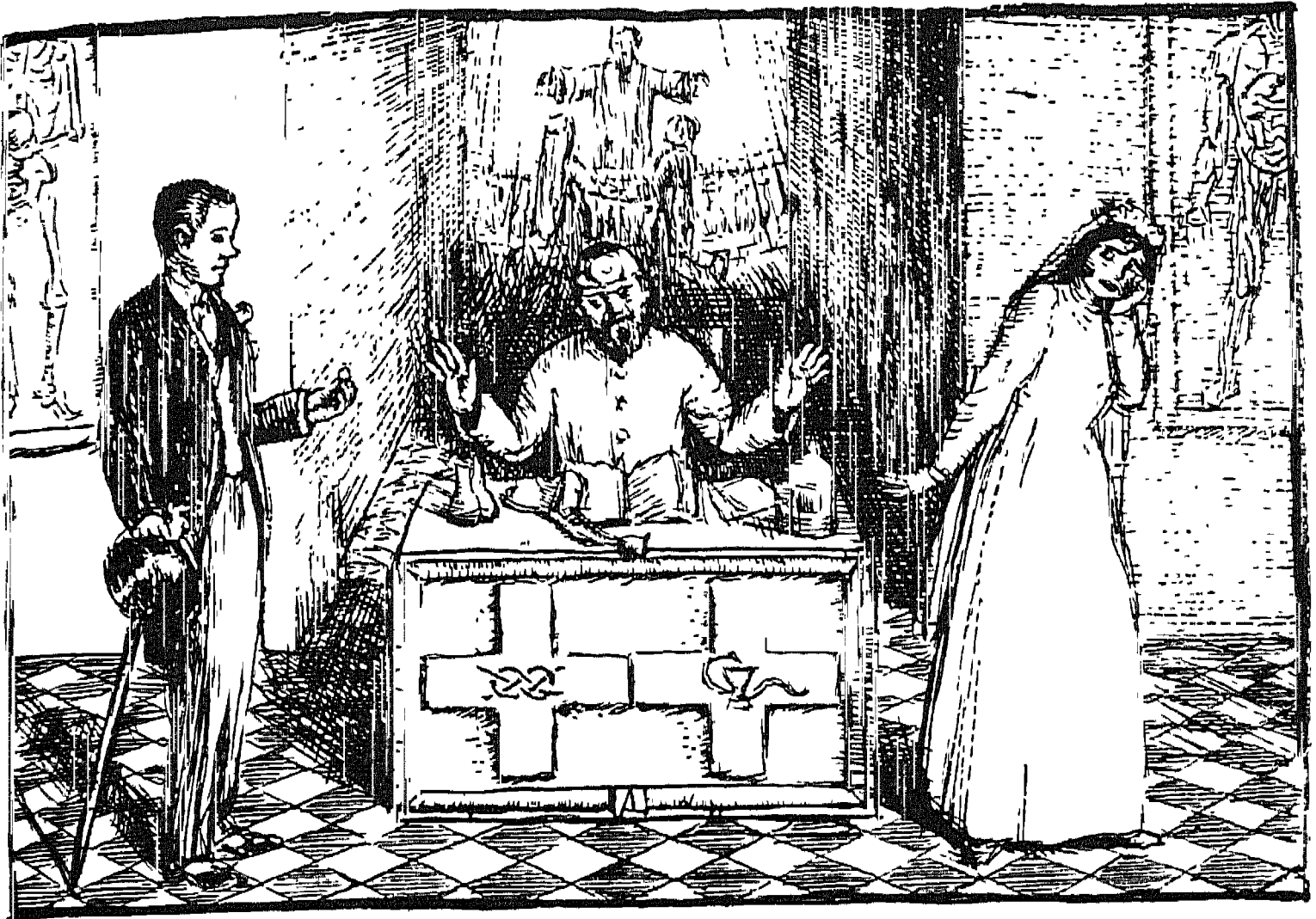
The Hasty Marriage Ceremony. In the more settled societies of the Old World, marriage is considered a serious step to be undertaken only after proper consideration by the two individuals and by their social groups. It is customary to announce the "banns" of the intended marriage at church on two or three successive Sundays. In the United States the religious banns, common in colonial days, have been replaced by the civil license. This is usually given without investigation to anyone who applies to the authorities. However, there is a tendency to require a brief waiting period. In 1906 but two states required an advance notice; now twenty-two states require a few days' notice before the marriage can take place. Wisconsin is the one state which requires a public posting of the notice. Only two states provide for the filing of objections.

By requiring a delay between the application and the issuance of the license, the law can discourage runaway marriages and those which are the result of a sudden impulse. During the interval before the license is issued the law might well require that the ages given on the

application be verified, and that the parents of minors be notified in time to take action if they so wish. The signatures of parents on the applications of minors are often forged. Moreover, false ages are frequently given.

Child Marriages. In no state may a person under eighteen years of age marry without the consent of his or her parents. But if the parents consent, many states do not forbid the marriage of children in their early teens. In ten states a girl of twelve may marry, and in only one state is the minimum marriageable age for girls higher than sixteen years. Sixteen states have raised the minimum age since 1906. A careful study of several hundred child marriages indicates that they are practically certain to end in failure. Fortunately only one and one-half per cent of girls fifteen years old are married, and the proportion is declining. Students of the problem suggest that eighteen should be the minimum marriageable age for boys and sixteen for girls. Scarcely any boy under eighteen or girl under sixteen can successfully cope in our society with the responsibilities of marriage and parenthood. If birth certificates had to be filed before the issuance of the license, the law could easily be enforced.

The Marriage of Defective and Diseased Persons. Some marriages fail because of the presence of serious mental or physical defects. In nineteen states there are no restrictions on marriages between individuals with mental and physical disabilities, and in the states having such restrictions they are frequently ignored. Only four states require a certificate from a physician. Many thoughtful persons believe that every applicant for a marriage license should present a certificate from a responsible medical man. The feeble-minded and insane should not be permitted to marry, nor should those with dangerous communicable diseases. More-



WITHOUT THE BLESSING OF GOOD HEALTH THE FUTURE OF
MARRIAGE AND FAMILY IS DARK INDEED

over, each person should know the facts concerning the health of the other. The mere appearance of average health is not sufficient. It is not unusual for one of the marriage partners to have a disease of the generative tract which, if not properly treated, may seriously endanger the health of the other partner and that of their children.

Provision for Alimony. In most divorces no provision is made for the payment of alimony to the wife. Either the husband's earnings are too small and irregular to permit of alimony, or the wife does not assert her legal claim, preferring to earn her own living. When there are young children there can be no doubt of the justice of requiring the husband to pay toward their support. But if there are no children, and if the wife is able-bodied, the claiming of alimony seems unjust. Because of alimony payments to his wife, the husband may find it difficult or impossible to establish another home. Not

infrequently the second wife must remain at work because the divorced wife declines to support herself. Although alimony is rarely paid to husbands, it is provided for in the laws of Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Rhode Island.

The Domestic Relations Court. About a score of cities have established a new court, the domestic relations court, before which cases dealing with the family may come. Here the divorce trial is not a contest between opposing lawyers, but a private consultation with the judge by the two persons concerned. The small, quiet courtroom, the absence of strangers, and the intention of the judge to learn the real and not the legal grounds for seeking a divorce, combine to create a spirit of reasonableness and compromise. Often the judge tries to reconcile the couple, pointing out wherein a better adjustment could be made. If he wishes, he may take time to investigate the underlying situation before deciding whether or not a divorce is the best solution. The friendly guidance of the judge is a healing influence, quite the reverse of the influence of divorce lawyers. When a person seeking a divorce goes to a lawyer, as is usual in any place without a domestic relations court, he is often led to take steps which make reconciliation almost impossible.

Were unhappy married persons to regard their trouble as a problem of maladjustment, and were they to obtain wise counsel, they would often find a more promising solution than a permanent separation. A temporary vacation from each other is in many cases sufficient to restore a workable relationship. Sometimes the rebuilding of the health (both physical and mental) of one or both parties is what is needed. Poor health destroys the power to make adjustments; good health automatically restores this power. In numerous cases



A WISE COUNSELOR MAY UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS OF
AN UNHAPPY MARRIAGE BETTER THAN THE
UNFORTUNATE HUSBAND AND WIFE

the real trouble has been a lack of satisfying recreation. When each member of the family has a genuinely interesting way of spending leisure, and is able to pursue this interest part of every day, other dissatisfactions tend to lose importance. Not infrequently the maladjustment is due to overwork; if a way can be found for the tired individual to obtain more rest, breakdown of the marriage may be averted. Often the chief difficulty is the strain caused under modern conditions by the presence in the home of relatives. In this event the impartial guidance of some wise counselor can probably smooth out the hurt feelings and the conflicting loyalties, and find a solution.

Many married couples — perhaps the majority — go through periods of maladjustment to each other. When

they cannot straighten out the situation by themselves, a disinterested and able advisor — a minister, physician, psychiatrist, social worker, or the judge of a domestic relations court — may help them. Here and there already may be found a church with a "marriage counselor" to whom bewildered individuals may go. Perhaps a new profession is coming into existence, for the purpose of reducing the tragedy represented by our enormous divorce rate. This development will be a genuine advance in our culture — safeguarding and enriching social relations within the family.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. The manner in which homes are broken has changed in what way since 1900?
2. What change has taken place since 1870 in the ratio of new marriages to divorces?
3. How do you explain the fact that children are involved in only about thirty-seven per cent of divorces?
4. Why do women obtain seventy per cent of all divorces?
5. What error in thinking do discontented married people often make? What difficulties does divorce frequently bring?
6. In what respect was adjustment between husband and wife much easier when our population was less mobile? Is there any disadvantage in the free mingling of individuals of various races, nationalities, and religions?
7. Why is a marriage not approved by the parents and other kin of the young people more likely to fail than one which they approve?
8. What are marriage banns? What is the trend regarding a delay before the issuance of a marriage license?
9. What is the situation regarding the minimum age for marriage?
10. Why is disinterested counsel especially valuable when marriage is disrupted by the presence of a relative in the home?

11. Should we blame persons for their faulty behavior? What is the scientific approach to behavior faults?
12. What are the advantages of the domestic relations court?
13. Under what conditions should alimony be waived? When should a husband receive alimony?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Report on how a domestic relations court is conducted.
2. Write a paper on how the right of divorce has improved the position of women.
3. Are there fewer happy marriages today than formerly?
4. What period of marriage brings the most difficult personality adjustments? How are these made?
5. Would stricter divorce laws aid in reducing the number of unhappy marriages? Defend your answer.
6. The divorce rate among college graduates is very low. How would you explain this?
7. What qualifications would be necessary in a marriage counselor?
8. Suppose you were a marriage counselor. Draw up a list of questions that you might ask a couple seeking your advice. Your questions would be designed to help them in analyzing their difficulty and working out their own solution.
9. Find out whether there are any courses in your community intended to be of assistance to young married people or to those about to be married. Are the needs of this group for education in meeting their particular problems being adequately met?
10. Is there some judge, minister, physician, or other person in your community to whom people turn for guidance in their family problems? Perhaps he would talk to your class about the factors making for successful or unsuccessful family life.

READINGS

- Cabot, Richard, *What Men Live By*. Chapter XXIX, "Marriage."
- Elliott, Mabel A., and others, *Our Dynamic Society*. Chapters XIX and XX.
- Elmer, Manuel C., *Family Adjustment and Social Change*.
- Folsom, Joseph K., *The Family: Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry*. For good readers.
- Groves, Ernest R., *The American Family*.
- Nimkoff, Meyer, *The Family*.
- Rugg, Harold, *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture*. Chapters V and VI. Easy reading.

STORIES AND BIOGRAPHY

- Ibsen, Henrik, *Hedda Gabler*. A drama of domestic incompatibility.
- Kelly, George, *Craig's Wife*. A modern play in which the man leaves home to find freedom.
- Sandoz, Mari, *Old Jules*. This biography reveals what marriage sometimes brings to the wife who is economically dependent upon her husband.

CHAPTER XII

THE FAMILY'S STANDARD OF LIVING

What is the minimum American standard of living?

How much cash income does a farm family need?

Should wives be gainfully employed?

What can be said for the family wage system?

Why are consumers bewildered?

IT IS TRUE that happiness is not a mere affair of food and clothes, and that culture is not a product of the pocketbook. But as life is now organized, leisure and the opportunity for culture and for development are closed to those who do not possess at least moderate incomes.

W. HAMILTON AND S. MAY

What Is an Adequate Family Income?

The Real Income of a Family. Nothing so powerfully affects the welfare of the family as its income. *An adequate income, earned under conditions which do not interfere with successful family life, is the foundation of the home.* When the income is insufficient, not only are present activities and enjoyments restricted, but the health, education, and associations of the children may be unfavorably and permanently affected.

Income cannot be measured wholly in terms of money. The *real* income is the amount of goods and services which the family enjoys. It may be obtained (1) by earning and spending a money income, (2) by utilizing the time, energy, and skills of the members of the family in making, growing, or gathering the articles used, and (3) by utilizing community services, such as

the public schools, libraries, parks, playgrounds, clinics, and the like.

The farm family generally has only a small cash income, but by raising food, cutting wood in the farm woodlot, sewing, preserving, baking, laundering, and making furnishings and other things, it may add greatly to its real income. In the city there are fewer ways to increase the family income by utilizing the time of its members, yet the housewife may contribute substantially to the total of goods and services enjoyed by the family. Every meal she prepares, every garment she makes, mends, or launders, every hour she spends in caring for her children, is an addition to the family's real income. It has been estimated that the services of the average housewife are easily worth \$750 a year. That is, without her labor in the home the family would need to spend \$750 more a year to live on the same level. This figure only measures the value of her housework, but makes no attempt to include her contribution as a companion and as a teacher to her children.

Most communities provide numerous services which add to the real income of their residents. Some of these, such as fire and police protection, building inspection, paved streets, health regulations, and the like, benefit everyone who lives in the community. Other services, like museums and libraries, add to the income only of the users. In the past century community services have been vastly extended. Few, indeed, were the community services enjoyed by our great-grandfathers. Not much more than a century ago it was unsafe to walk the streets after dark; besides having a bodyguard, the citizen needed to carry a lantern. It is not easy to measure the money value of safety, or of the other good things we receive from the government. According to one estimate, the increased services in a typical industrial community in the United

States have, within a single generation, added ten per cent to real wages. Undoubtedly this trend will continue.

A great difference exists in the amount and quality of services provided by different communities. The rural community has fewer and poorer services than the city. Yet the rural dweller enjoys sunshine, fresh air, beautiful surroundings, and the privilege of roaming the fields and woods, quite without cost. In the city these things are either lacking or expensive. A city dwelling that looks onto a park or a river has a higher rent than one that looks toward another building, but what rural dweller pays money for the pleasure of seeing trees through the windows? An apartment high up above the noise and dust of the city streets rents for more than one lower down, and one with abundant sunlight brings a higher rent than one that is shaded by an adjacent building. According to a study made by the Mellon Institute of Pittsburgh, the smoke nuisance in big cities adds a hundred dollars a year to the expenses of the average family for extra housecleaning, depreciation of furnishings and apparel, and additional laundry. The rural family saves this expense.

The Overwhelming Importance of the Money Income. Valuable as are the resources of the community and the services of the homemaker, we know that every family must have a cash income. The actual necessities of life require cash. The city family must, of course, spend more money than the farm family, yet under modern conditions even the farm family comes to want when its cash income ceases. The typical modern farmer is a specialist. He sells his wheat or sugar cane or hogs or milk and buys flour, sugar, bacon, and butter. In hard times he produces more of the things his family requires, but there remain hundreds of necessary items for which cash must be paid. Alike in city and country,

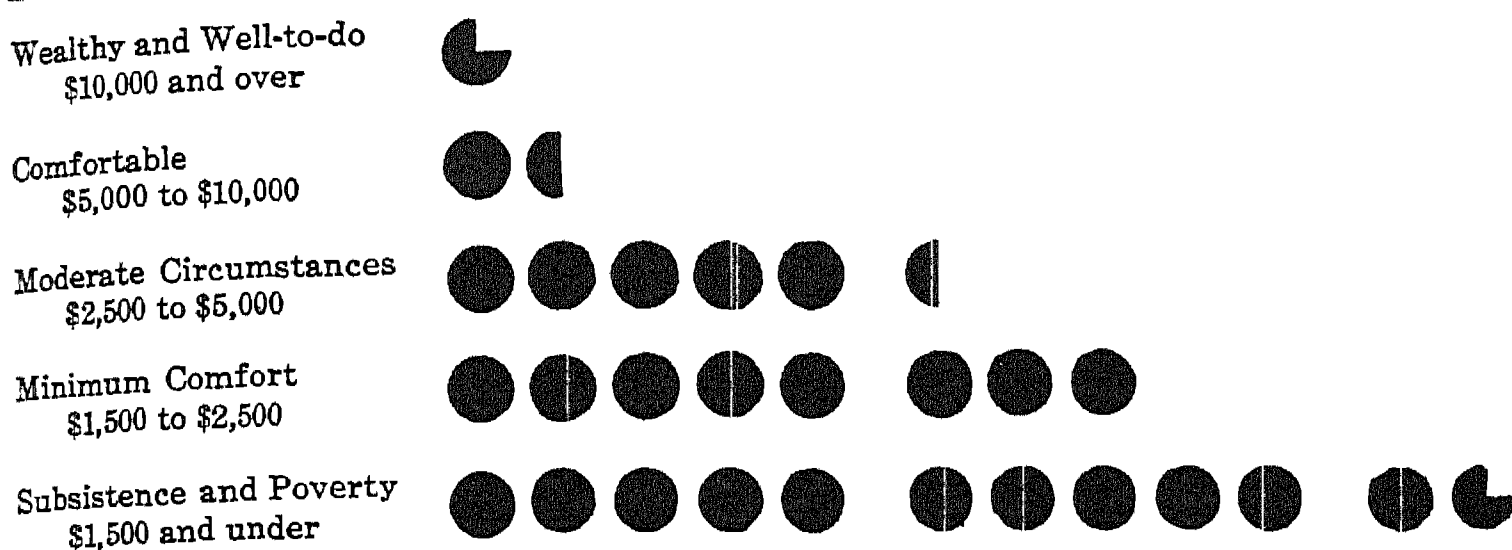
the basic need of the modern family is a regular and adequate money income.

What Is an Adequate Money Income? The amount of money necessary for a family varies with the number of its members, their ages, and state of health. The occupation of the husband also affects the family's expenses. If he engages in heavy physical labor, he will require more food than the office worker. The office worker, however, must spend more for clothes than the manual laborer. The climate, too, affects the expenditure for clothing and fuel. Rent is higher in some places than in others, and food costs more in some sections than in others. The cost of living is generally considered to be somewhat cheaper in the South and the West than in the East. Yet many careful studies of family expenses in cities all over the country indicate that the sectional differences are chiefly in the standards considered necessary. If the same amount of goods and services is obtained, the cost of living of an average family will not vary much more than two hundred dollars as between the cheapest and the most expensive city.

In figuring the cost of living, the family is taken to mean a father, mother, and three children under fourteen, for unless the average family can support three children the population will decline. Four levels or standards of living are commonly described. They are:

1. *The poverty level.* A family is in all probability on the poverty level if it spends forty per cent or more of its income on food. Families who live in the larger American cities on \$1000 to \$1100 or less exist on this level. They cannot keep themselves in a state of physical efficiency. Their food will consist too largely of starches and sweets. They will be undernourished and overcrowded and poorly clothed. They have no reserves against misfortune, and a few weeks of illness or unemployment force them to seek relief. Such families

Each unit ● represents one million families



D. P. W. Graphic Standards Project, Teachers College, Columbia University. (Source of data: America's Capacity to Consume, by Maurice Leven and others)

Incomes of American Families in 1929

have a great deal more sickness than those with larger incomes, and a high infant mortality rate. The mother is likely to work outside the home, and the children to supplement the income by selling newspapers, shining shoes, selling junk, and picking up coal and wood. From this level come a large proportion of juvenile delinquents. Some mothers, in order to stay at home to supervise their children, engage in industrial homework — making artificial flowers, cheap jewelry, garment finishing, and the like. Such work is paid by the piece, and the earnings per hour are very low. As a rule, if industrial homework is done, the children help whenever they are not in school, often working with their parents far into the night.

2. *The minimum of subsistence level.* On this level the family can maintain physical efficiency as long as no serious misfortune brings expense or reduces earnings. Without sacrifice of necessities they cannot afford to attend the movies, to buy reading matter, or to have any but the plainest food and clothing. At the cost of great self-denial they usually manage to carry a small life-insurance policy. This is proof of the strong desire for protection against becoming dependent; budget experts do not expect a family on this level to be able to

carry insurance or to save. The New York Charity Organization in 1931 fixed \$1259 as the minimum yearly income for a family on this level: the Baltimore Jewish Social Service Bureau in 1933 fixed the amount at \$1157, prices having reached the lowest point in years. On this level, too, the mothers may work outside the home at low-paid jobs, or take industrial homework. They often have roomers or boarders, which usually occasions serious overcrowding of the family.

3. *The minimum of health and decency level.* This is also known as the minimum comfort level, and the minimum American standard of living. It allows for nourishing food, including more milk, meat, fruits, and vegetables than can be obtained on the subsistence level. The family must live in a low-rent neighborhood, but should have five rooms and a bath — the smallest number of rooms regarded as decent for a family of five. Household equipment can be replaced as it wears out, but no additional furniture can be bought unless the family sacrifices on the healthfulness of the diet or some other necessary. Clothing is sufficient for bodily comfort, with no more regard for style than will permit one to appear in public without slovenliness or loss of self-respect. Life insurance, a few educational extras for the children (books, stationery, and other minor school needs), with something for recreation and incidentals, bring the cost of this budget to between \$1500 and \$2000, according to the section of the country and the existing level of prices. In 1919, when prices were abnormally high, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics found that \$2262 was needed to maintain a family of five in Washington, D.C., on the plane of health and decency. Prices had declined by 1928 when the Cincinnati League of Women Voters found that \$1674 was needed for a family of five in their city. Their budget allowed almost nothing for health and education and \$55 a year for

insurance and savings. In 1929 the family budget of the Chicago Council of Social Service Agencies called for \$1946. (By March, 1932, with falling prices the cost of this same budget had dropped to about \$1600.) The table on page 236 presents the Chicago and Cincinnati budgets, together with a minimum budget of \$1491 worked out in 1931 in Boston. Notice that the Boston and Cincinnati figures include under health only household supplies of medicine, assuming that families on this level will go to free clinics and not to private doctors and dentists. The items under the heading "Sundries" are regarded by the budget-makers as seriously inadequate in all three budgets. This means that the family has little freedom of choice.

4. *The citizenship and security level.* On \$2000 a year the family of five has a small margin for those items which may bring the enrichment of personality. In the first place, money can be spared for dentistry, eyeglasses, and medical supervision — none of which can be included in smaller budgets unless the need is extreme. In the second place, more adequate life insurance can be carried, and larger savings made to cushion the inevitable crises of accident, illness, and death. It is, however, generally agreed that a family income of \$2000 cannot be managed so as to provide against a long illness, a disabling accident, several months of unemployment, or the death of a wage-earner. When these occur, the family will have to readjust its entire scale of living and probably run into debt. Nevertheless, a family with a normal income of \$2000 a year is vastly more secure than a family with less. The children will be practically certain of completing high school, and some will attend college if they can earn their own way or can reduce expenses by living at home.

On this level a family that appreciates the finer things of life can begin to obtain them. It may spare two or

ALLOWANCES FOR FOOD, CLOTHING, SHELTER, AND OTHER PURPOSES
IN THREE STANDARD BUDGETS ^a

<i>Items</i>	<i>Chicago 1929 "Minimum Normal"</i>	<i>Boston 1931 "Minimum"</i>	<i>Cincinnati 1928 "Minimum Standard"</i>
Food.....	\$649	\$537	\$730 ^b
Husband.....	\$148	\$135	\$190
Wife.....	120	104	160
Girl seven.....	96	83	100 (child 3)
Girl ten.....	112	88	130
Boy thirteen.....	143	127	150
Allowed for waste....	30		
Clothing.....	285	241	215
Husband.....	70	70	55
Wife.....	54	52	45
Girl seven.....	40	38	17 (child 3)
Girl ten.....	54	40	43
Boy thirteen.....	67	41	40
Upkeep.....			15
Rent.....	360	300	360
Operating Expenses....	280	224	211
Coal.....	98	70 ^c	45
Gas.....	19	40	6
Electricity.....	23		18
Household furniture and supplies.....	84	59	78
Carfare.....	56	55	64
Sundries.....	252	114	103
Health.....	84	26 ^d	9 ^d
Education.....	36	12	19
Recreation.....	48	42	75
Organizations and in- cidentalals.....	84	34	
Insurance and Savings	120	75	55
Total	1946	1491	1674

^a Sources: Chicago Council of Social Agencies, *The Chicago Standard Budget*, June, 1929; Budget Council of Boston, *Budgeting the Low Income*, June, 1931; Cincinnati League of Women Voters, *Spending the Family Income*, September, 1928.

^b More liberal allowances of milk, vegetables, and meat than other budgets.

^c Estimated cost of four tons of coal and necessary wood for kindling.

^d Includes only household medicinal supplies; family uses free clinics. From Hazel Kyrk, *Economic Problems of the Family* (Harper & Brothers, 1933), p. 208. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

three hundred dollars a year for these luxuries, choosing among such precious items as books, pictures, concert and theater tickets, music lessons, attractive furnishings, membership in clubs and societies, a brief annual vacation, fresh flowers, gifts to others, entertaining, and contributions to philanthropy. The exercise of choice is the true expression of personality. When a larger proportion of our people may actually choose how to spend their money, we may claim to have reached a high cultural level. Yet the mere increase of income does not insure that it will be wisely spent. Even on the poverty level some families succeed in expressing a love for the beautiful, whereas a family of vulgar tastes cannot live beautifully on any income level. The raising of the standard of living involves, on the one hand, more adequate earnings; on the other, a truer appreciation of the values in life most worthy to be sought.

Income Needed by Farm Families. The United States Department of Agriculture calculated in 1928 that the minimum of health and decency for a farm family of five required a net income of \$1800. Of this amount, \$1200 should be in cash and \$600 in farm products for the use of the family. The minimum of subsistence for a farm family was found to require a cash income of \$800 and \$600 additional in farm products for home use. Over three fourths of farm families live on the poverty level.

What Determines the Minimum Standard of Living? Three factors determine what a given society will regard as the minimum tolerable level of living. These are as follows:

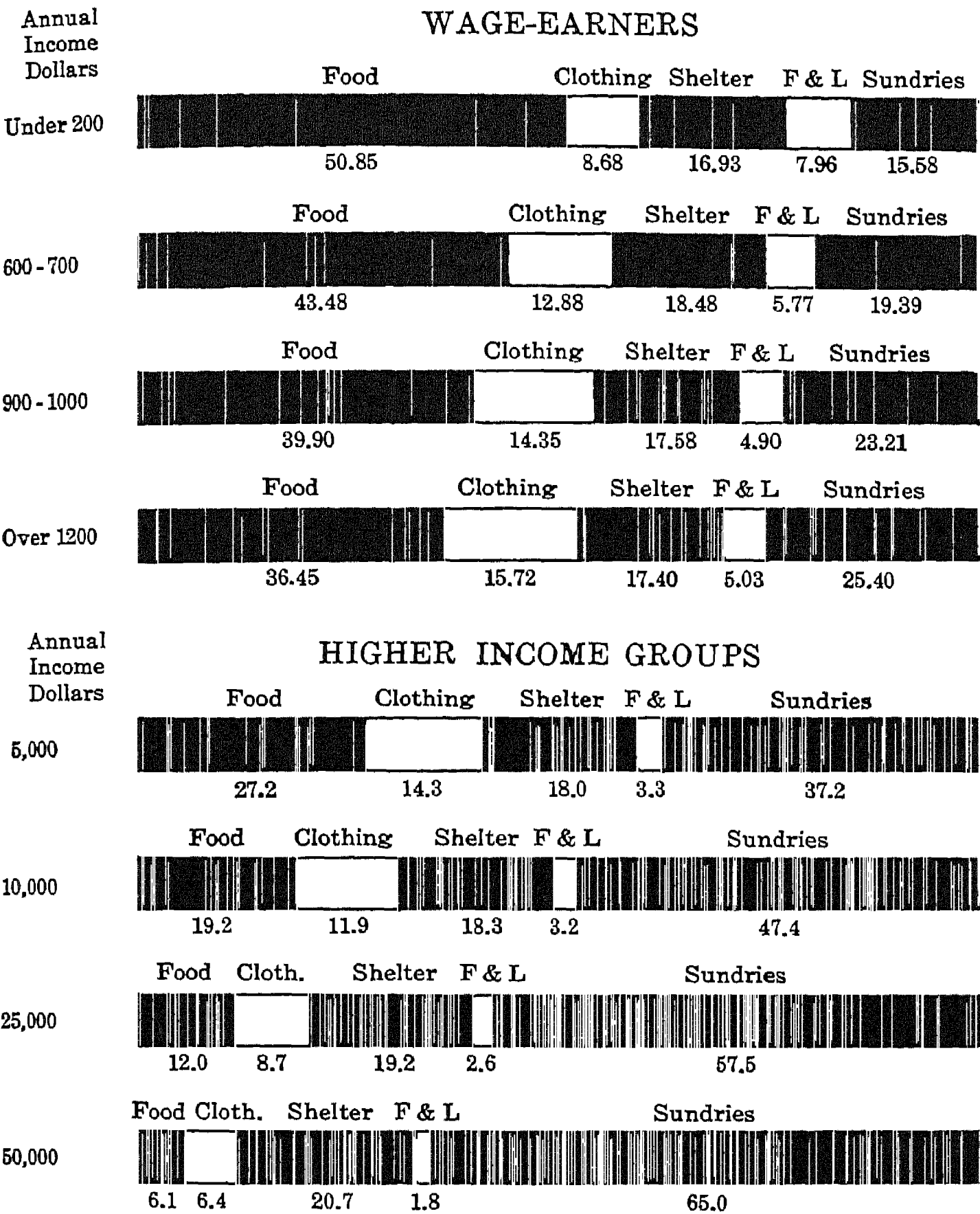
1. *The state of scientific knowledge regarding human requirements.* When it has been clearly demonstrated that the health of children demands milk, oranges, cod-liver oil, eggs, liver, and other protective foods, the community is no longer willing that any child shall go

without these things. The growing realization that good teeth are essential for health is adding dentistry to the minimum tolerable standard. It has lately been proved that only three in five of our people are able in any one year to visit a doctor; knowledge of this fact will certainly affect the size of the money income considered necessary for a family. Proof that bad housing is closely connected with ill-health and with juvenile delinquency has already begun to raise the minimum tolerable standard for a family's dwelling.

2. *The wealth of the country.* In a prosperous country, society cannot easily excuse itself for permitting any families to remain on a very low level of existence. The presence of numerous well-to-do families is a continual demonstration of what life can mean for all. This arouses a strong demand for a higher average standard. When, during an industrial depression, the national income shrinks, the people feel that it is no longer possible to maintain the customary level of living, and the minimum tolerable standard is allowed to drop. Unfortunately, the acceptance of the lower standard becomes a habit, and when prosperity returns, wages may not be raised as rapidly as they should be.

3. *The social attitudes of the time and place.* Do those setting up the standard identify themselves with the group who are to live at the specified level? When a relief budget is computed, the authorities as a rule set a lower minimum for Negroes than for whites. Often a lower minimum is set for foreign-born than for native-born. There is also an assumption that a working-class family can endure hardships that a professional family cannot endure. For instance, it is thought tolerable for a working-class mother to take a job scrubbing floors, leaving the baby in the care of an older child. But the community would never permit the wife of a professional man to adopt such a method of earning

(Data for Wage-Earners' Families from U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 1901 Cost-of-Living Study; based on 11,156 "normal" families Data for Higher Income Groups from National Bureau of Economic Research Report: "Income in the United States," based on a few cases.)



From The Evolving House, Vol. 2, by A. F. Bemis. Courtesy Mass. Inst. of Technology

Percentage Distribution of Wage-Earners' Family Budgets
Compared with Those for Higher Income Groups in
the United States

The opportunity for choice in apportioning the family income mounts rapidly as income rises. It is seen in the increasing proportion that is spent for sundries.

money during a family crisis. As compared with a society having hereditary social classes, Americans have a democratic attitude toward the less fortunate. Nevertheless, we might apply a truer spirit of democracy in deciding the minimum level on which any family shall be allowed to live.

How Many Families Have an Adequate Income? In normal times not more than twenty married men in a hundred have incomes of \$2000 and over. A careful estimate set the average annual earnings for all workers in urban industry in 1926 at \$1444. (In that same year the National Industrial Conference Board placed the cost of maintaining a family of four at \$1660 in New York City, and in 1927 at \$1440 in Marion, Ohio.) The Cincinnati League of Women Voters, in commenting on the results of their budget study in 1928, said: "All persons who work with unskilled and semi-skilled labor know the actual wage paid to the group is less than this amount (\$1674). The average wage of skilled and unskilled labor in Cincinnati in 1921 amounted to \$1160 per annum." During 1928, 1929, and 1930, the average weekly wage reported by thirteen out of twenty representative American industries, assuming fifty weeks' employment in the year, amounted to yearly earnings of under \$1500. But a great many workers have much less than fifty weeks of full-time employment, even in periods of prosperity. In 1928 it was estimated that fully one fifth of American city families had earnings of less than \$1200 a year, while one third had earnings of less than \$1500.

Does this mean that one third of city families are in good times living below the level of health and decency? By no means. In some families there are no children, or the children are grown up and away from home. (A family of two adults can live as well on \$900 as a family with three children under fourteen can live on \$1500.)

Some families have only one or two children. Yet several million American families living in cities have an income insufficient for life on the plane of health and decency. Until one or more of the children are old enough to go to work, the family must undergo serious privation. Living close to the poverty line, the family has no reserves to meet an emergency. Unemployment, an accident, or a serious illness will bring them to actual want, and they will require aid until they can get back on their feet. Instead of thinking of the poor as a small number of families that always require aid, it is more accurate to think of the millions of ordinary families that at some period will, in spite of their strenuous efforts, need relief for a few weeks or months.

In the millions of families with children whose earnings are less than \$1500 a year, the wife and children practically always try to add to the income. Once the youngest child is in school, or even earlier, the wife will seek gainful employment. Whether she goes out to work, takes industrial homework, or keeps roomers and boarders, the family life is likely to suffer. Needless to say, under these conditions the children look forward to the age when they can leave school and go to work. If there are no jobs to be had, they may leave school anyway, because they cannot dress as well as the average high school student dresses, and because they have little or no pocket money with which to buy the small incidentals required at high school.

Should Wives and Mothers Be Gainfully Employed?

How Many Wives Are Gainfully Employed? The Census Bureau counts a married woman as gainfully employed when she has regular, full-time work for money. In 1930 two million American wives were gainfully employed, an increase of sixty per cent since 1920. In

occupations other than agriculture the increase was eighty per cent. The proportion of working wives varies from place to place. It is highest in the South, where many Negro wives work as domestics, and lowest in northern agricultural states where there are few opportunities for a wife to find gainful employment. In 1930 South Carolina had the largest percentage of wives employed — twenty-four per cent — while North Dakota had the smallest — six per cent. In New Bedford, Massachusetts, a textile city, twenty-nine per cent of the married women were gainfully employed. In Washington, D.C., the figure was thirty per cent. For the country as a whole about eleven per cent of wives in 1930 were gainfully employed.

A great many wives have part-time gainful occupations which the Census does not enumerate. Practically all farm women have money-making pursuits, such as the production of eggs, butter, cream, small fruits, and canned goods for sale. Village and town wives frequently spend some of their time at sewing or washing for money, at industrial homework, substitute teaching, and the keeping of roomers and boarders. About one in five city wives contributes to the money income of the family.

Should Gainful Employment of Wives Be Encouraged? There are two groups of married women for whom gainful employment is socially desirable. In one group are those city wives whose household duties take only a few hours of the day. These are young women with no children or older women whose children have grown up. Custom approves the idleness of these wives. Yet part-time employment would in most cases probably contribute to their personality development, making them better citizens and better companions to their families. Their idleness is another example of the way in which our society wastes its labor resources. Their employment would add to the total national income.

In another group are wives of special talent and training whose earning power is high enough so that they can hire competent domestic help. By working after her marriage the wife may make it possible to marry years sooner than would otherwise be the case. Moreover, the skilled or professional woman often wishes to continue at her work because she loves it or, at any rate, finds it more stimulating than housework. Yet the married woman is often discriminated against in well-paid pursuits on the ground that she does not need to earn, and that to employ her is to rob a single woman of a position. Unless the test of need is to be required of all job-seekers, men and women, married and single, it is unjust to withhold work from the competent married woman. In many cases she needs the money she can earn, but even if she does not, she should have the right to use her talents in the way in which she believes she can be most useful and happy. She makes employment for others by hiring domestic help, sending out the laundry, buying ready-cooked food, and in spending her money on clothes, books, health, recreation, and travel that she otherwise could not afford. The men who oppose the employment of married women in well-paid positions are often glad to hire married women for low-paid unskilled work. From the viewpoint of society the one question that should be answered in filling any position is, "Who is best qualified to do this particular job?" No artificial requirement as to marriage, sex, age, race, nationality, or religion should prevent the selection of the individual who, by training, experience, and personality, is best prepared for the post. To place barriers in the way of the employment of any trained person is to waste the costly investment society has made in that person's education.

Is Housekeeping a Full-Time Job? The question of whether wives should be gainfully employed naturally

suggests another question. How much time is needed to care for a home? Recent studies indicate that the average working week in the home is around fifty hours. Farm homemaking generally takes a few hours a week longer than city homemaking, since few farm homes have the conveniences which nearly all city homes possess. About ten per cent of city women spend less than thirty-five hours a week at homemaking but this is close to five hours a day, including Sundays and holidays. The table below shows how much time is spent on various tasks in a sample of representative homes.

THE HOMEMAKER'S WORKING WEEK ¹

Activity	Representative Rural Homes		City Homes of the Business and Professional Class	
	559 farm homemakers	249 other rural homemakers	178 homemakers in cities of 50,000 to 250,000 population	222 homemakers in cities of 250,000 population or more
	Hours per week	Hours per week	Hours per week	Hours per week
Purchasing and management.....	2.2	2.7	4.2	5.3
Care of family.....	3.9	4.7	9.8	9.3
Meals.....	22.8	20.7	14.6	11.7
Care of house.....	9.6	9.4	7.4	7.2
Laundering.....	5.3	5.2	3.2	2.5
Mending and sewing..	5.5	6.2	4.1	4.1
Other homemaking...	2.3	2.6	4.3	4.8
Total homemaking...	51.6	51.5	47.6	44.9
Farm and other work.	9.6	4.5	2.0	2.4
Help received in home-making.....	9.3	9.6	30.5 ^a	36.6 ^a
Average size of household.....	4.3	4.0	4.0	3.9

^a A servant was employed by most of these families.

¹ Source: Committee on Household Management, President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, *Household Management and Kitchens*.

When young children are present in the home, the time spent in homemaking is greatly increased. A study of farm homemakers in Oregon showed that in homes without children 49.2 hours per week were spent in homemaking, but when the family included a child under one year old the time was 81.3 hours. In city homes with a child under one year 94.2 hours were spent each week in homemaking.

Why does the homemaker's working week remain so long? For one thing, the percentage of persons engaged in housework has declined. The grown-up daughters and spinster relatives who used to share the housework are now gainfully employed. Servants are found only in well-to-do families. As a result the work is concentrated in the hands of the housewife. In the second place, the standards of homemaking have grown more and more elaborate. The family has more rooms, more furniture, more gear of all sorts. Wardrobes are larger. Food is prepared with more regard for variety and attractive appearance; the table is carefully set with many more dishes, knives, forks, and spoons than appeared even for company in grandmother's day. Just as the Saturday night bath has given place to the daily bath, so the weekly change of garments has given way, in many homes, to a daily change of garments. Labor-saving machines for the home are not yet widely diffused; moreover some of these have tended to increase rather than decrease the time given to housework. The vacuum cleaner leads to far more cleaning, the washing machine to more laundry, than was ever dreamed of by our foremothers. Such devices and conveniences make the work pleasanter, but frequently so raise the standards of homemaking that little time is saved. In the third place, the family with young children has so many demands upon its income that at the very time when the mother is most overburdened, little money can be

spared for labor-saving equipment and a modernized kitchen. The well-equipped home is likely to be the childless home.

The homemaker who is gainfully employed must simplify her housekeeping and practice short-cut methods. If, however, she sends the laundry out, buys ready-cooked and canned foods, and neglects mending, the family's expenses will noticeably rise. If she hires help in the home, the waste of fuel, food, and supplies must be added to the wages paid. Experts declare that the actual value of an average man's income is increased from forty to sixty per cent by his wife's work and management in the home. When she is gainfully employed, her contribution in the home is reduced; if her earnings are much smaller than her husband's, her gainful employment may add very little to the family's real income.

The Gainful Employment of Mothers. Because the family with several young children is so likely to find its income inadequate, mothers frequently feel obliged to earn money. In a study of 40,000 gainfully employed women, it was found that fifty-three per cent of the married workers had children and forty per cent of these had children under five years of age. Long hours of housework in addition to the job are injurious to even the strongest woman. When she is at home the gainfully employed mother is likely to be too busy and too tired to be a companion and teacher to her children. When she is away, the children may spend much time with little or no supervision, the older ones roaming the streets when school is over. Pre-school children are frequently left alone, with only such care as a neighbor in another apartment will give when she hears them cry. In big cities free day nurseries provide for some children whose mothers are employed at small pay. Many wage-earning mothers take night jobs in order



WASHING CLOTHES TO BUY HER CHILDREN FOOD, SHE IS TOO TIRED TO GIVE THEM LOVE AND PROPER CARE

to be with their children during the day, although the pay is low and the work usually unattractive. In fact the majority of women night workers are young married women with small children. They are, of course, dangerously overworked.

The professional woman, especially if her hours of work are short and flexible, may be able to continue her gainful employment without harm to her children. She can hire a substitute to care for them, or can give them the advantages of a nursery school or kindergarten. If the children are well taken care of, and if she has time and strength and the desire to continue at her profession, society should not forbid her to do so. Well-to-do mothers who leave their children in the care of nurses and governesses, or send them to boarding

schools and camps for no better reason than to be free for travel and social pleasures, are rarely censured. Criticism of mothers who continue to work at their professions is sometimes due to the fear that women are usurping men's rights.

An experienced social worker has clearly stated the argument for and against the employment of mothers:

What, then, is a reasonable position to take toward the employment of women with children in industry and the professions? In the first place, each case must be judged on its merits. In the main it can be justly argued that while children are young most mothers are fully employed in caring for the home and the children, and that for most mothers with young children, outside employment is probably undesirable. Even here there are many exceptions; the type, hours, and location of employment, the capacity of the woman in caring for her children, etc., as well as the employment and attitude of the father, but the general rule probably holds good. It should hold equally good for all classes. If the welfare of society demands that most mothers in one class should devote their whole time to the care of their children, it should demand it through the entire social scale. With the development of the kindergarten and the public school, however, the full-time job of motherhood is frequently over when the children reach five or six years of age, or even earlier. Many women whose tastes and training run to domestic occupations can readily fill the time with economically and socially useful tasks inside the home. Others with different tastes and previous experience are more useful and happy outside. Society is injuring itself and injuring the woman when it prevents her leading a life of the greatest usefulness. Unquestionably the employment of women with children will tend in some cases to keep families small; but in most of these cases, if the mother were not working, economic pressure would have the same effect. On the other hand, employment of mothers will encourage capable and talented women to marry and to have children, as in doing so they need not put an end to their career.¹

¹ Robert C. Dexter, *Social Adjustment* (F. S. Crofts & Co.), p. 281.

Social Changes That Would Raise the Family's
Standard of Living

The Family Wage System. The tendency for wives and mothers to seek gainful employment is clearly on the increase. Powerful economic forces are making families so dependent on a money income that many wives have no choice but to become earners. To check this tendency some European countries are experimenting with the family wage system. Briefly, the employer pays a basic wage, and in addition pays the state a sum based on the number of his employees. From this sum the state pays the individual worker a supplementary wage in proportion to the number of his or her dependents. The man or woman who has no one to look after does not receive the supplementary wage. The man or woman who has dependents — aged parents, children, relatives unable to work — receives an allowance for each dependent. A father with several dependent children might receive twice as much money for the same work as a single man. He is thus enabled to support his family and keep his wife at home where she is so greatly needed. The woman with an invalid or disabled husband is paid enough to take care of him, whereas under the usual wage system a woman earns less than a man, and finds it very difficult to support dependents. American labor unions, recognizing that many working women have dependents, urge "equal pay for equal work." This remains, however, a slogan rather than a reality.

How Society Might Help Gainfully Employed Homemakers. Even should the family wage system be adopted in the United States, many homemakers would still seek gainful employment. Among them would be childless women and those whose children had grown up. A large proportion would be those well-educated



HE DOES NOT MIND WEARING THE APRON TO GIVE SUPPER
TO HIS SON

women who feel happier and more useful when they can carry on the work in which they were engaged before marriage. In the long run, society would benefit from their employment, if through this their families do not suffer. The problem is to reduce the burden of housework and the physical care of children.

If nursery schools and kindergartens were to be opened everywhere, as recommended by child welfare experts, the gainfully employed mother would be tremendously assisted. There is also a serious need for nurseries for the all-day care of young children, where, for a fee proportional to her daily earnings, the mother could leave her children during the entire time of her absence from home.

In large cities there already exist efficient, low-cost

laundries and cooked-food shops. With the increasing demand, more of these will soon be found in smaller places. But such places should be carefully and frequently inspected by public health officials.

Already the tradition that it is undignified for a man to help with the housework is losing ground. In families where the wife is gainfully employed, the husband and the sons often share in the tasks of homemaking. This makes for a splendid spirit of co-operation in the family.

Help through Better Housing. No single change would do more to reduce the labor of homemaking and to promote family happiness than better housing. The United States Bureau of Labor has made a careful study of the minimum housing requirements to maintain an average American family in health and decency. The Bureau found that the American standard is met when:

For each person in the household there is one room, not counting the bath. A family of five requires five rooms and a bath.

The parents should have a separate bedroom. The girls should have a bedroom, and the boys a bedroom also.

The total floor space, including closets, halls, and bathroom, must not be less than 660 square feet for a family of five.

There must be in each room at least one window opening to the outer air.

There must be a complete bathroom with toilet not shared by other families.

The house should be located in a neighborhood with reasonably well maintained streets, and it should be near to means of transportation, playgrounds, places of recreation, and schools.

It is estimated that at least one half of our people are housed in ways inferior to the foregoing standard. Budget experts agree that the average family should not pay more than twenty per cent of its income on shelter. Yet many families are obliged to spend more than this percentage to obtain substandard housing. This means

that shelter takes money that is urgently needed for food, clothing, and medical care, and in consequence the whole level of living suffers.

Many houses now in use were built when little thought had been given to the value of good housing. The great importance of sunlight and ventilation was not appreciated, still less the need to save the labor and steps of the housewife. Newer houses, too, are often built without much regard for ease in doing housework or for the convenience of the members of the family. In very few dwellings are the rooms well arranged. After the minimum requirements outlined above have been met, the following provisions would add greatly to the comfort and well-being of the family, especially where there are children:

1. The kitchen should be scientifically planned to save labor and steps by the correct placing of the stove, sink, refrigerator, worktable, dish and food closet, and clothes drier.

2. A dinette or dining alcove opening off the kitchen is a valuable feature. The large, separate dining room seems to be obsolete. Lacking a dinette, most families eat in the kitchen, which makes for confusion, overcrowding, and a lack of dignity.

3. Bathroom fixtures, towel rods, doorknobs, and clothes hangers should be at a height suitable for children. By enabling the child to reach the things he needs without adult assistance, his development is encouraged and his mother's time is saved for more valuable activities.

4. Every room should have a large built-in closet with numerous shelves and drawers devised for ease in putting away and getting at clothes, shoes, books, games, electric equipment, papers, or whatever else is used in the particular room. Endless trouble and irritation are caused by the inadequate storage space in most houses.

5. There should be a playroom for children with tough furniture of suitable design, and walls that do not easily show fingermarks. When the child has a good place to play, and interesting equipment and toys, he is much happier and requires less attention from adults than is otherwise the case.

6. In the country, a large, fenced yard within the mother's view, equipped with a swing, sandbox, teeter-board, and other apparatus is desirable. In the city, a supervised playground close at hand is necessary. When old cities cannot find vacant land for numerous playgrounds, almost any landlord with a socialized point of view could provide, at small cost, a playground for the young children of his tenants on the roof of his apartment building. The gain in safety and happiness for the children, and the saving of drudgery and worry to the parents, would be inestimable. Future generations will probably look back at our miserable provision for the play and safety of city children and think us barbarous.

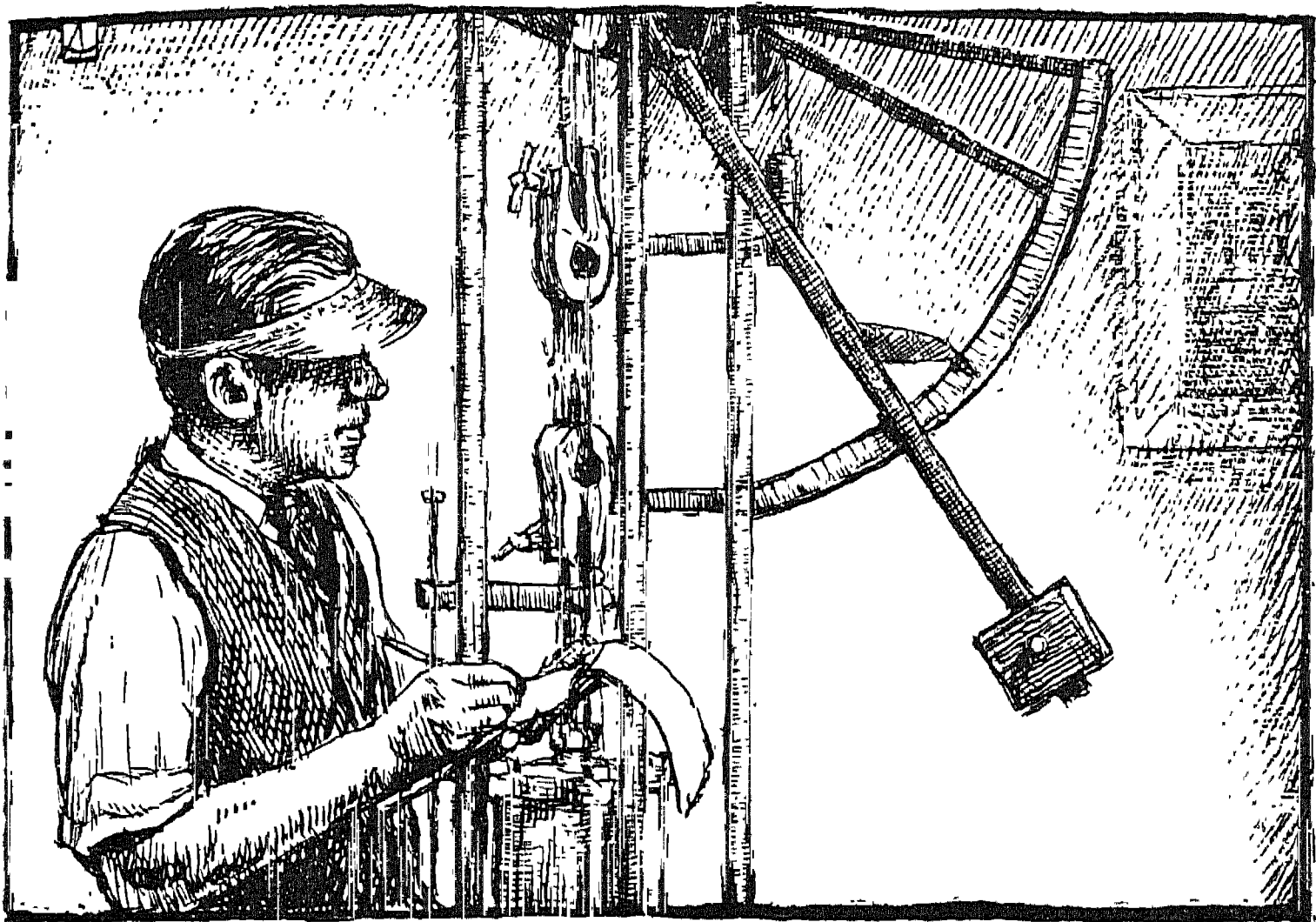
The provision of good housing at moderate cost is one of the tasks of modern society. People everywhere are beginning to realize that the health, comfort, and well-being of the family are conditioned by the kind of house in which they live. When, as in the modern city, landlords fail to provide good, inexpensive houses, the government is obliged to enter the field.

The Protection of Consumers. Families in every walk of life want to get the fullest return for their expenditures. Yet the variety of goods on the market is so vast that no one can possibly know how to select those items which will be most satisfactory at the price he can afford to pay. There are sold in the United States 10,000 brands of wheat flour, 4,500 brands of canned corn, 1,000 brands of canned peaches, 1,000 brands of canned salmon, 500 brands of mustard, and 300 brands of pineapple. The

prices show a wide range. The most expensive may be no better than some of the cheaper brands; the most widely advertised may be inferior to some of the unknown brands. How is the consumer to choose? The purchase of clothing and textiles is still more puzzling. Part-wool blankets usually contain but five to seven per cent of wool. "Silk" garments may be made of rayon, or of silk so heavily weighted with metallic salts that it will quickly wear out. Rabbit fur is marketed under seventy-five different names; only an expert can tell which is most durable. Probably everyone has had the experience of buying stockings which look serviceable yet last for only two or three washings.

Price is a meager guide. Even expensive, nationally advertised brands may vary in quality, especially when the management or ownership changes. Purchasing agents for the government and for large institutions buy all sorts of goods by specification. They can have scientific tests made and reject whatever is below standard. The small consumer only discovers that he has paid too much or been actually cheated when it is too late. In many cases he never discovers his mistakes in buying.

If all goods were sold according to grades established by trade associations or by the government, the family income would go farther than it does at present. Moreover, honest producers and merchants would benefit as well. Government grading of meat, eggs, milk, butter, potatoes, apples, etc., is common in wholesale channels; the grades are merely omitted when the goods are packed and labeled for the small purchaser. In 1927 the state of New York established retail grades for eggs. All retailers must stamp the grade on the carton or bag. As a result the customer may buy eggs with confidence, knowing when he pays for "fresh" eggs that they will meet the official standards. In Oregon potatoes may be



THE TESTING OF PRODUCTS IS ONE OF SCIENCE'S IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR CIVILIZATION

sold at retail only by grade. Substandard canned goods sold in the United States must be so labeled, but the consumer has no clue as to the better grades. Nearly all kinds of goods can be graded. In fact wholesalers, purchasing agents, and bankers when giving loans, regularly make use of grades, whether the article they are dealing with is foodstuff, clothing, building material, gasoline, tires, furniture, or anything else. The use of official grades in retailing is practicable. It would save the huge waste of money now spent for goods of inferior quality, and goods that are not worth the price asked.

The consumer's problem is made more difficult by the unethical methods of some advertisers and salesmen. Through false or misleading statements many worthless or harmful products are sold. This is particularly true of medicinal preparations and appliances. Venders of "magnetic health belts," lamps for making

magical rays, and machines for producing vibrations of marvelous healing effect, take in large sums that should be spent for genuine medical care. Scores of dangerous weight-reducing compounds are freely advertised. Millions of dollars are spent for cosmetics, many of which are worthless, some of which are harmful, and none of which can perform the miracles claimed by their promoters. In precisely those fields where consumers are most ignorant do advertisers find the biggest profit. Exaggeration is so common in advertising that the wise consumer gives it little confidence. Our lack of effective control over advertising is a notable instance of cultural lag.

WORD STUDY

real income

standard of living

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Outline the three ways by which the family secures its real income.
2. Is the cost of living really much less in the South than in the North? How do you explain that it is generally so considered?
3. Why is the cost of living computed for the family of five rather than for some other number?
4. Why cannot the family on the poverty level maintain a state of physical efficiency? Is this against the interest of the remainder of society? Explain.
5. State the requirements of the minimum American standard of living. How much does it cost?
6. What determines the minimum tolerable standard of living?
7. Many families require aid during a period of their history. Explain.
8. Why is a larger percentage of married women gainfully employed in the South than in the North?
9. Were our society resolved to raise the standard of living

by a wise use of all its labor resources, what groups of married women should be employed?

10. How does a gainfully employed married woman make employment for others?
11. From the standpoint of the total social welfare, what question should be answered in filling any vacant position? What matters should not enter into the decision?
12. If her earnings are much smaller than her husband's, the gainful employment of the wife may add very little to the family's real income. Explain.
13. What is the family wage system? What can be said for it?
14. Why is the consumer bewildered?
15. What can be said for the use of official grades on all goods sold at retail which are graded in wholesale channels?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Have the class secretary write to the Food and Drugs Administration of the Department of Agriculture at Washington, asking how your class may obtain their free traveling exhibit.
2. Appoint someone to write to Consumers' Research, Inc., Washington, N.J., and someone else to write to Consumers Union, 55 Vandam Street, New York City, for sample copies of their reports and for information regarding their work of supplying impartial information to consumers. Review the information obtained in class, and circulate the sample reports.
3. Secure from the United States Department of Agriculture sample copies of the free publication, *Consumers' Guide*, so that each member of the class may have one to keep.
4. Set up an exhibit on low-cost housing projects. The Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, and your local housing authorities, will supply you with much free printed material, and may lend you photographs, posters, and models, and help you find a speaker on the housing problem. A worth-while assembly program could be worked out in connection with your exhibit.
5. State the requirements for minimum American housing.

Make a floor plan on the blackboard of a house meeting this standard. At what rent can such a house be obtained in your community?

6. Prepare a report on industrial homework. Consider especially the kinds of such work common in your community.
7. Prepare a report on women night workers and their problems, especially those of your own community. Find out what they earn, their hours, types of work done, size of their families, and why they accept night work.
8. What ways of earning money interfere with successful family life? Consider ways pursued by men, by women, and by children.
9. "The actual necessities of city life require cash. The comforts are provided by the homemaker." Can you justify this statement? Does it apply also to the farm family? Analyze.
10. Why do you think the name "Citizenship and security level" was given to the income of \$2000 a year? Does this sum allow many choices? Illustrate.
11. The labor and talents of what groups in our society are now partly or wholly wasted?
12. Work out a typical family budget for a family of five living on the minimum American standard in your community. Go over your budget with a family welfare worker, the home demonstration agent, or some well-informed parents.
13. How much pocket money is indispensable to a student in your high school?
14. Appoint a committee to report on day nurseries and nursery schools, considering especially those found in your own or some near-by city. What groups of parents do they serve? How do they benefit the children? How much do they cost and how is the cost met? Why do some people think that nursery schools will be the next step in the extension of public education?
15. Make a floor plan, with measurements, of a convenient kitchen. Preferably, take your own kitchen and show how it could be rearranged to save labor at moderate or small cost. Have the teacher of domestic science judge these plans.

READINGS

- Elmer, Manuel C., *Family Adjustment and Social Change*. Chapter X, "The Standard of Living." Emphasizes the non-material aspects of the problem.
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- Housing number, *Building America*, special edition, 1935.
- Kyrk, Hazel, *Economic Problems of the Family*. Chapter XIX, "Setting the Standard of Living." Exceptionally valuable.
- Pitkin, Walter, *The Consumer*. See pp. 204-208, "The Young Consumer," and pp. 279-312, "Woman, the Economic Imbecile." *Let's Get What We Want*. A breezy discussion of the problem of the consumer.
- Thomas, Norman, *Human Exploitation*. Chapter X, "Women in Industry"; Chapter XIV, "The Consumer Pays."
- United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin 401, *Family Allowances in Foreign Countries*.
- United States Women's Bureau Bulletin 135, *The Commercialization of the Home through Industrial Home Work*.

STORIES AND BIOGRAPHY

- Addams, Jane, *Twenty Years at Hull House*. Vivid glimpses of family problems in the slums and how Hull House workers tried to help meet them.
- Alcott, Louisa M., *An Old-Fashioned Girl*. This story illustrates judgment in the use of property and goods in a fine New England home of small means in the 60's.
- Hunt, C. L., *Life of Ellen H. Richards*. Biography of a notable pioneer in home economics.
- Lawrence, Josephine, *If I Have Four Apples*. An amusing novel illustrating a typical American family and its mismanagement of money.

UNIT V



SCHOOLS FOR TOMORROW

CHAPTER XIII. EXTENDING AMERICAN EDUCATION. The elementary school reaches the masses; coming of the public school, lengthening of the school term, reduction of child labor, compulsory attendance. The startling growth of high schools and colleges; coming of the public high school, the junior high school, the junior college. Growth of higher education. The adult education movement. Extension of education to the handicapped.

CHAPTER XIV. THE REPLANNING OF AMERICAN EDUCATION. Education a form of social planning. Can society afford to provide more free education? Solving the problem of unequal educational opportunity. The dawn of the science of education. The challenge to higher education.

CHAPTER XIII

EXTENDING AMERICAN EDUCATION

What forces have encouraged the public education movement?

Why is the school term growing longer?

What is happening to the high school?

Can adults learn? Why are they so eager for educational opportunities?

Is there any use in training the handicapped?

LEARNING is not for learning's sake; the end of knowledge is action.

Elementary Schooling Reaches the Masses

The Coming of Public Schools. The founders of our republic clearly saw the need of public schools. Democracy would succeed, they believed, only if the voters were well informed. Under their guidance land was given to the states to encourage the establishment of free schools and universities. Yet the taxpayers, who were generally the only voters, were very reluctant to assume the support of popular education. The lands were hastily sold for a pittance, and the inspiring plans for state-wide systems of public schools remained on paper. In New England most communities had free elementary schools where all boys and girls might receive a few winters of instruction. Outside New England the schools were generally supported by the fees of well-to-do parents; poor children might go to these schools only if their parents acknowledged themselves to be "paupers." Most of these early schools were sectarian, that is, church schools. They were rarely open more than three or four months in the year, and

taught little but reading, writing, arithmetic, and the catechism.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century a demand for popular education swept over the land, an aspect of the Jacksonian revolution. Many towns established public schools for the first time. Rural dwellers formed district schools. Massachusetts established the first public high school in 1821, and the larger cities in other states soon followed. In 1837 Michigan created a public university, realizing a plan that many states had formed but had not carried to success. Other western states copied Michigan's example. With these exceptions, higher education was still almost wholly left to the private academy and college.

The educational movement was strongest where political democracy was most advanced, as among small independent farmers in the West and among wage-earners in the East. Where the plantation system flourished, and where, as in New York and Pennsylvania, nationalities and religions conflicted most strongly, popular education was retarded. Especially in the older sections, where distinct economic classes had arisen, the taxpayers were not convinced of the advantages of public schools. They sent their own children to private schools, for the most part, and did not think they could be justly asked to support schools for the children of artisans and laborers. Yet the trend was clearly toward universal free education, popularly controlled, and aided, when local communities were too poor, by the state.

Deep-seated forces were at work to strengthen and to realize the democratic ideal of free public schooling for all. Increasingly the children were employed away from home at monotonous, uneducative work. Thinking people saw that they would be better off in school. Working men were organizing and demanding free

schools; gradually, as property qualifications for voters were abolished, they were enabled to exercise strong political pressure. The growth of cities was bringing increased attention to public health, and the success of health regulations was seen to depend on educating the people. Besides, a flood of immigrants was arriving from Europe who must be prepared for citizenship. The prosperous, believing that ignorant voters were a danger to property rights, and that schooling would overcome pauperism and radicalism, began to favor the extension of public schools. Moreover, as religious sects multiplied, the burden of maintaining separate schools became severe. Better schools could be provided more cheaply by the community as a whole. The various denominations were able to agree on sending their children to a school where no religious instruction would be given, and for the most part they abandoned the struggle to maintain their own schools.

The Lengthening of the School Term. By the middle of the nineteenth century the four months' school term was being lengthened, especially in cities. Since 1890 the average length of the school term has increased rapidly and school attendance has been more faithful, as may be seen in the following table:

	<i>Average Number of Days Public Schools Were in Session</i>	<i>Average Number of Days Attended by the Pupils Enrolled</i>
1890	134.7	86.3
1900	144.3	99.0
1910	157.5	113.0
1920	161.9	121.2
1930	172.7	143.0

Some cities are now experimenting with all-year schools. Many have summer schools for pupils who are

behind in their credits or who wish to hasten their graduation from high school. Others have a summer term devoted to recreation and to vocational training. In 1922 there were 174 cities with summer schools. By 1930 the list had grown to 251. Since summer schools provide enjoyable occupation for many city children who have nowhere to go and nothing interesting to do in the vacation period, they will probably become numerous. Especially for the children from underprivileged homes, the all-day summer play school is a great boon. All that stands in the way of providing more of them is the cost of teachers.

The Amount of Schooling Received. With the great increase in the number of schools, the lengthening of their terms, and the tendency of children to remain in school to a later age, the total amount of schooling received by the average person has been multiplied twenty times since 1800. Counting attendance at public and at private schools, the number of days spent in school by the average American in his entire life has been as follows:

TOTAL SCHOOLING RECEIVED BY THE AVERAGE AMERICAN

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Number of Days</i>
1800	82
1840	208
1860	434
1880	690
1900	934
1920	1226
1930	1591

The Reduction of Child Labor. One reason for the increased school attendance, especially since 1910, is the marked decrease in the gainful employment of children. Notice the trend indicated in the table on page 266.

PER CENT OF ALL CHILDREN 10-15 YEARS OF AGE IN
GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

1890	18.1
1900	18.2
1910	18.4
1920	8.5
1930	4.7

These figures reflect a decrease in the demand for child workers, but also a new attitude on the part of society. Once child labor was regarded as the proper way by which parents could be compensated for the expense and trouble of bringing up a family. Indeed, under the common law a child was not entitled to support by his parents after the age of seven. Childhood is now recognized as the period in which the individual should be allowed to secure maximum physical and mental development. Parents therefore want their children to remain in school as long as possible. The child who is obliged to leave school to go to work is thought to be cheated of a fundamental and precious right.

Compulsory Attendance Laws. Signs of the new concern for the rights of children are seen in the laws for compulsory school attendance. In 1852 Massachusetts passed the first such law in the United States. It required children between the ages of eight and fourteen to attend twelve weeks of school each year. Other states gradually followed this example. However, little attention was given to the enforcement of attendance laws until after 1880. Sixteen states passed their first compulsory attendance laws after 1900. As late as 1915 four states still had no compulsory attendance legislation. In 1907 only twenty-three states required attendance after age fourteen. In 1931 only five states had a

limit as low as age fourteen, while four states required attendance to age eighteen.

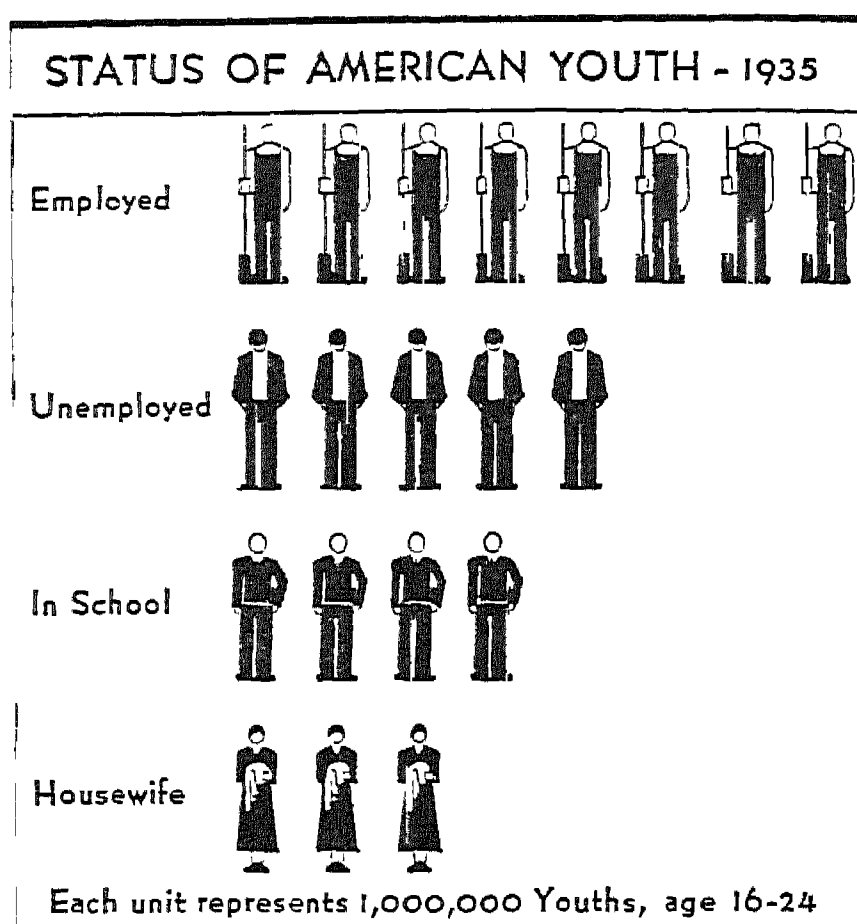
These laws protect children of careless parents, but the majority of parents would undoubtedly send their children regularly to school without any coercion. Millions of young people above the compulsory age limits are now in school. The raising of the legal age limit from time to time is only a new expression of a custom which is already established.

The Startling Growth of High Schools and Colleges

The Rise of the Public High School. Secondary education was left almost wholly to private enterprise until after the Civil War. When Lincoln was inaugurated, there were only about three hundred public high schools in the entire country, half of them in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio. By 1880 there were 800, and by 1900 there were 6000 public high schools.

In 1890 only six per cent of American children of high school age were in high school. Secondary education was still regarded as the privilege of those preparing to enter the professions. The only subjects in which five per cent or more of the pupils were enrolled were Latin, French, German, algebra, geometry, physics, chemistry, and history. Some three per cent of high school pupils studied Greek. The curriculum was designed solely for those who were to go to college or professional school.

With the turn of the century there came a marked growth in high school enrollment. Banks, insurance companies, department stores, and large-scale businesses were demanding well-trained workers. The supply was insufficient. Since a few years' more schooling meant much larger earning power, young people flocked to the high schools. In 1910 one million students were in high school; in 1920, two million; in 1930, five million; and in 1935, seven million. Half the persons of high school



*Source: Committee on Youth Problems, U S Office of Education,
Washington, D C From Building America*

age are now in school. Will the other half soon be found there?

Employers are continually asking for more training. A survey was made in 1930, in the Chicago area, of fifty-one industrial and commercial concerns which employ boys and girls. These firms had 190 different classes of positions ranging from messenger boys to accountants and expert mechanics. In 148 classes the educational requirements had been distinctly raised since 1920. Positions in sixty-five classes required high school graduates or the equivalent, or training beyond high school; thirty-four required at least two years of high school; forty-nine required completion of the eighth grade. Only forty-two classes had no educational requirements, although preference was often given to those applicants with the longer school records. This illustrates one of the pressures which are filling our high schools to their utmost capacity.

Making Over the High School. The traditional high school course was suited chiefly to pupils planning to go

to college. The great majority of high school pupils today will not go to college. They want to study the natural and social sciences, modern languages, the fine arts, the industrial arts, and other subjects which they believe will be directly useful to them in work or leisure. Employers, too, expect the high school to provide many types of vocational training; they no longer wish to take untrained young people for long apprenticeships. Physical education for every student is replacing the old emphasis on athletic prowess by a few. Clubs, dramatics, assembly programs, and other extracurricular activities are increasingly valued. Thus the high school is bringing a richer culture to the masses.

The Junior High School. Beginning about 1910 a number of communities replaced the old seventh, eighth, and ninth grades with the junior high school. This was an attempt to bridge the gap between the sixth grade and the high school in such a way as to hold the interest of young adolescents. Formerly this period was used merely in reviewing the elementary subjects. As a result many pupils became bored and looked forward to leaving school at the first opportunity — generally at the end of the eighth grade.

The junior high school offers interesting new subjects and extracurricular activities. It has college-graduate teachers who are specialists in teaching one or two subjects. Recognizing that by this age children want to take responsibility for making their own decisions, the junior high school gives them much more freedom than was permitted in the old-fashioned "grammar school."

The Junior College. The junior college offers a two-year course equivalent to the freshman and sophomore years at a four-year college. The first junior colleges were established a few years earlier than the first junior high schools. There are now nearly five hundred of them in the United States, about one third being supported by

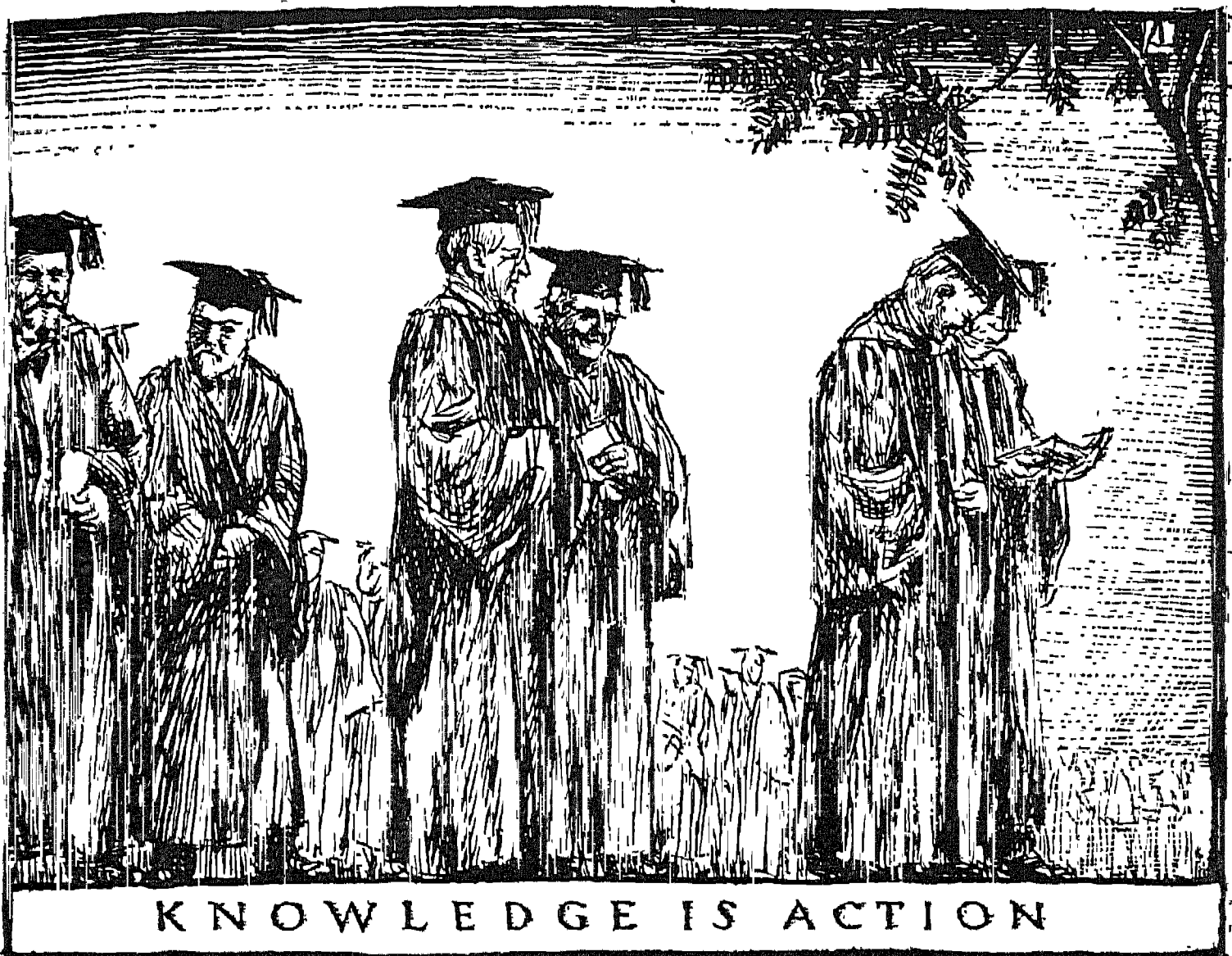
taxes. The number of junior colleges, both private and public, is rapidly growing.

It is thought by some experts on school finance that no city of less than 30,000 population is justified in maintaining a junior college. College-grade work requires teachers of exceptionally good training, and enough of them to permit the offering of a variety of courses. Unless there are at least two hundred pupils, the cost of instruction per pupil is likely to be excessively high or the quality of instruction low. The junior college should not be regarded merely as an advanced high school. Rather, it should be designed for adults capable of a large measure of self-direction and prepared to appreciate contact with stimulating minds.

Several factors are encouraging the growth of the junior college. Thousands of high school graduates, unable to obtain employment, want further training. Employers are demanding college or junior college graduates in many positions formerly filled by high school graduates. Some of the four-year colleges are now so crowded that they are rejecting at least half their applicants. In California the state university has encouraged the cities to establish junior colleges, that costly university facilities may be reserved for the more advanced students. Furthermore, great numbers of young people who could not possibly afford to attend a distant institution can continue their studies if meanwhile they live at home. The public junior college is thus an application of the democratic ideal of equal educational opportunity for all.

Higher Education. About 110,000 men and women were in colleges and universities in 1890. Today the number is over a million. One in nine persons of college age is now in college, sixty per cent of them in private institutions and forty per cent in public institutions.

Those who have experienced the many-sided develop-



CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, ANDREW CARNEGIE, WOODROW WILSON,
THOMAS EDISON, AND HERBERT HOOVER

ment, the growth in capacity and sensitivity, which are the gifts of the college, must rejoice that more and more men and women are finding this priceless opportunity. What spiritual advance should be possible to a people thus enlightened!

The enrollment in graduate schools has likewise increased remarkably. Some positions formerly filled by college graduates now demand one to three years of graduate study. It may be that before long doctors of philosophy will be commonly employed as high school teachers and in industrial research laboratories. The high standards of German education and industrial technique, so conspicuous before the World War, were partly due to the large number of Ph.D.'s employed in secondary schools and in industry.

A college degree no longer has a scarcity value. It

may add little to the earnings of its possessor. Society, however, has need of more college graduates. Were millions of positions now filled by those of less training to be staffed with the college-trained, the quality of social relations would be improved. There is an especially grave need for better prepared persons in all branches of politics.

The Advent of Adult Education

No educational trend of the present day is more significant than the rapid growth of adult education. For the first time in history a considerable percentage of adults, both in Europe and in the New World, has leisure for study. Society has but to provide the means by which they may use their leisure constructively.

Why the Adult Education Movement Is Growing. Perhaps nothing has done more to stimulate the adult education movement than recent findings of the educational psychologists. Adults, it has been shown, possess abundant capacity to learn. There is no basis for the notion, once universally believed, that adults have little power to learn. Research has proved that the capacity to learn grows until the early twenties. For a few years thereafter it remains stationary, then almost imperceptibly begins to decline. Accordingly, there is no reason why those of any age should not study.

The industrial depression has given new impetus to the movement. Millions of unemployed or partially employed workers have sought to make their days more meaningful by guided reading. Frequently they have tried through study to improve their qualifications for a job. Others have found in study a relief from discouragement, strain, and monotony. Yet if every worker were to find a job tomorrow, the adult education movement could be expected to continue. It might even

grow faster, since people would have more money for books and lessons. The idea of self-development has seized the masses of people.

The breath-taking advance of technology often requires the middle-aged to seek vocational retraining. A certain railroad which crosses the state of New Jersey recently changed from steam power to electricity. The New Jersey Department of Public Instruction gave a course on electric engines to several hundred engineers and their assistants, that these skilled, experienced workers should not be thrown upon the industrial scrap heap. This kind of vocational readjustment may be needed more than once in a lifetime if the present rate of technological change continues.

Educators are aware of the rich possibilities of the adult education movement. They have long known that it is impossible to prepare people in childhood for their adult tasks, since knowledge not soon put to use fades from the mind and cannot be recalled when it is needed. They would have children study only those things which have immediate interest and use at their particular age level; thus they would make the maximum personality growth. Then, as the time draws near for entrance upon a vocation, each young person should study in preparation for the particular kind of work that he expects to do. Ideally, his studies should continue after he begins work, as he becomes aware of his needs for more skill and information. The most economical learning is that which takes place when the individual is hunting for the answer to some problem that is vital to him. Adults should be able to study with more purpose than children and adolescents; they know what they need to learn and they can apply it at once.

Even were it possible to supply children with the skills and information that they will need when they reach maturity, adult education would still be necessary.

Society is changing so rapidly that much that is taught to children is out-of-date by the time they have grown up. As adults they will need the latest information if they are to solve the problems they face in their work and in their home life. Moreover, if they are to be well informed on social and political problems, if they are to be intelligent citizens, their studying can never stop.

Varieties of Adult Education. So many types of adult education exist that it is impossible to mention them all. We shall discuss a few of the more important.

1. *Night schools for workers.* Many cities maintain night schools. Although most of the courses offered are vocational, it is possible to secure a high school diploma in this way. Colleges located in the city often give evening courses leading to a degree.

2. *Professional improvement.* Teachers are expected to be students; evening and Saturday classes and summer schools are offered them by many colleges. Doctors, especially in cities, are provided with opportunities for keeping up with new methods and theories through lectures, demonstrations, and clinical practice. Professional workers in every line make eager use of opportunities to learn of important new developments in their field.

3. *Extension service to farmers and homemakers.* Each year Congress appropriates a large sum which is spent co-operatively by the United States Department of Agriculture, the land-grant colleges, and the counties for the benefit of farmers and homemakers. Nearly all rural counties have a full-time county agricultural agent, a home demonstration agent, and one or two boys' and girls' club agents. These specialists bring scientific knowledge to rural dwellers. By personal visits to farms and homes, by holding meetings and organizing clubs, by exhibitions and demonstrations and the distribution



"BOOKS! — THE LIBRARY HAS COME!"

of bulletins, the extension workers reach millions. In less than a generation this work has contributed enormously to the improvement of methods of farming, homemaking, and child feeding and training. By encouraging co-operation and organization by farmers, it has strengthened rural society.

4. *Public libraries.* One of the oldest and best agencies for adult education is the public library. Unfortunately, forty-five million of our people, mostly in rural areas, are not within reach of library service. In one third of American counties there is not a single public library. Some thinly populated counties have a county library from which books are mailed or delivered to borrowers, or deposited in batches of a few dozen at crossroads stores and other accessible places all over the county. Forty counties have "bookmobiles" (trucks with bookshelves) for carrying reading matter to rural families. The poorer sections of the country, where

most of the people have no money to buy anything but the bare necessities, need public libraries the most. It is precisely these sections where no public libraries exist. If the blessing of free books is to come to all the people, the richer sections must share their taxes with the poorer. To some extent this is already being done. Numerous county and state governments offer library service to places within their borders which have little or none.

Often a church, a woman's club, or a school undertakes to establish a public library by soliciting books and contributions from the community. If many people will pool their small personal store of books and magazines, each will have an enlarged collection to draw upon. Someone can generally be found to give his services as librarian once the books have been contributed. Even where good public libraries exist, there is a need for the gifts and the services of public-spirited citizens. Is there any community in America that has enough books? And is there any public library which has too many volunteers for carrying books to shut-ins? Millions of valuable volumes which now gather dust in homes would, if contributed to public libraries, give pleasure to the book-hungry.

5. *Forums and discussion groups.* Both children and adults learn best when they participate actively in their own education. The notion that knowledge can be poured into the brain and stored there for future use is wholly unscientific. This idea, still harbored by unprogressive teachers, parents, and school boards, is responsible for much ineffective teaching. Children whose interest has been killed by lifeless methods of teaching generally have no escape. Adults, on the contrary, promptly abandon classes which do not arouse their interest. For this reason some of the best educational methods are now practiced by the teachers of adults.

The forum on public questions is a valuable device developed by the adult education movement. There are now several hundred cities which conduct a weekly forum. A guest speaker of reputation presents one aspect of a controversial issue; to a second guest speaker may be assigned another aspect of the same issue. Following their addresses the speakers answer questions from the audience. If the chairman is skillful, and the audience responsive, a lively discussion will develop. This seems to be the ideal way of informing citizens and preparing them for constructive social action. Because they know that both sides of the issue will be fairly treated, and that they will not be asked to accept the opinion of either speaker, people of all shades of belief are attracted by the forum. At its best the forum exemplifies the creation of enlightened public opinion.

Another effective device is the discussion group which meets regularly to talk over a timely social question, such as, "Do we need economic planning?" "The problems of the consumer," or "What can be done to insure peace?" A study outline is generally followed, and the members are expected to read in a systematic way between meetings. Like the forum, the discussion group should lead to constructive social action. Knowledge of public affairs is of no use unless it is put to work.

6. *Correspondence schools.* Long before the adult education movement had received a name, thousands of persons were enrolled in correspondence courses. At first these were all privately owned, being conducted for the profit of their owners; later resident colleges and universities — those whose students reside at or near the institution — began to conduct correspondence schools. There are now some 300 privately owned schools with 1,250,000 pupils enrolled; and in addition 150 resident institutions have 150,000 correspondent pupils. While the most popular correspondence courses

are strictly vocational — business English, penmanship, bookkeeping, plumbing, surveying, short story writing, candy making, etc. — courses are available in practically every high school and college subject. In fact some of the resident institutions will grant a high school or college diploma to correspondents who complete the required program.

Insofar as correspondence schools give honest and high-grade instruction to persons unable to attend school in person, they are commendable. Insofar as they exact exorbitant fees for low-grade instruction; insofar as they give worthless diplomas and guarantees of positions; insofar as their advertising claims that "magnetism," charm, culture, and success can be acquired by taking their courses, they are harmful. A very small proportion of those enrolled ever complete a correspondence course. In one leading privately owned school the proportion is but three in every hundred. An investigation of one hundred privately owned schools revealed that the promotion (advertising) staff of the average school is five times larger than the teaching staff. One school spends three fourths of a cent in every dollar of income for instruction; the rest goes either for promotion or as profit to the owner. Certainly there is need for legislation to provide stricter regulation of correspondence schools.

The Education of the Handicapped

For a long time the effort to provide schools for normal children absorbed all the energy of educational leaders. Little consideration was given to the needs of the blind, the deaf, and the disabled. The first school for the deaf was founded in 1817 at Hartford, Connecticut by the Reverend Thomas Gallaudet. The first state school for the deaf was started by Kentucky in 1823.

It was not until 1832 that the first schools for the blind were opened, privately, in Boston and New York. In 1848 Michigan founded an institution for the instruction of the deaf, the dumb, and the blind. Similar institutions were little by little established in other states. Yet prior to the Civil War, schools for the handicapped were few and small. There are still too few school opportunities for the handicapped. Their sad plight is, however, receiving more and more attention — another evidence of cultural advance.

The Blind. The United States has about 100,000 blind people. About one eighth were born blind or lost their sight during their first year. Better medical care of newborn infants has already reduced the size of this group. Since disease and industrial accidents account for most cases of blindness, obviously most of our thought should be given to prevention.

In prosperous times only one in every six blind persons is employed; the others are dependent. Ordinary economic, recreational, and social activities being closed to the blind, they have long hours of idleness and isolation. Many brood over their handicap and become despondent. If life is to be made worth living, they must have special education, that they may earn a living or at least be useful to their families. Our society is rich enough to spare their labor, but they cannot be happy without self-respecting activity. Teaching the blind to read by touch is one of the surest ways to improve their lot. Some whose hands are calloused from hard work or who are nervously disorganized find great difficulty in learning to read, but the majority are able to do so. Embossed reading matter, such as Braille, is bulky, expensive, and short-lived. Fortunately, many large public libraries have collections of material for the blind. It can be mailed without the payment of postage. The Red Cross and the Girl Scouts will assist public-

spirited persons to learn how to prepare books for the blind. Here is a chance for anyone to turn his leisure into a splendid public service. Phonographic materials prepared for the blind are still scarce and costly, but are gradually being made more generally available through public libraries.

Many of the states train part of their blind population in special schools. Others maintain homes for those without relatives. The granting of small pensions to the blind, begun by Ohio and Nebraska, has recently been endorsed by Congress. As yet only a small portion of the blind receive any kind of public education.

The Deaf. There are about as many persons with severely impaired hearing or none at all as there are of the blind. About ninety per cent of these lost their hearing before their twentieth birthday. In some cases deafness is hereditary. Scarlet fever, measles, meningitis, and other diseases cause many cases.

The deaf are not nearly so handicapped as are the blind. Most of them go to school, and nearly all learn to speak with their hands. About forty per cent learn to read the lips. Only about twenty per cent can speak well, and sixty per cent do not speak at all. Those whose hearing goes before the age of ten generally soon lose the power of speech. Those who become deaf later in life tend to lose the ability to speak clearly, since they do not hear what they are saying. By special instruction the deaf may be helped in speaking, in communicating with other deaf persons, and in lip reading. Classes for the deaf are conducted in many large cities. At comparatively small expense society is able to improve the adjustment of the deaf, and so to conserve their chances for useful, happy living.

A few unfortunates are blind, deaf, and dumb. Unless they receive very skillful individual training they are unable to develop human personality. The primary

problem in their training is to enable them to receive communications from other people, in order that their minds may be stimulated to grow. It is also necessary to teach methods of self-expression. Helen Keller's achievements indicate what good education can do for a child with these terrible handicaps. Through the gifts of philanthropists two other blind, deaf, and dumb children are now being educated with great promise. If expert training can accomplish so much for a child shut off from the most important channels of human development, is there not good reason to believe that the personality of the normal child might be developed far beyond the limits which now satisfy society?

The Disabled. Disabling or crippling is due principally to infantile paralysis, bone tuberculosis, and accidents. The total number of disabled is not known. A survey in New York City showed 36,000 such unfortunates, sixty-three per cent of whom were disabled before reaching the age of sixteen. Surveys made in Cleveland, Ohio, and in Massachusetts revealed six disabled in every thousand people.

Some states and many cities provide special training and medical care for the disabled. A number of fraternal societies maintain homes and hospitals for disabled children. In rural districts and in many of the less prosperous states little or no provision is made for crippled individuals. The federal government gives financial assistance to any state with a program for the rehabilitation — the retraining — of disabled adults. This is designed particularly for the victims of industrial accidents. The attempt is made to retrain the individual so that he may once again support himself. Unfortunately, the majority of employers are unwilling to employ handicapped persons. Their desire and ability to be useful are generally wasted, with suffering to themselves and loss to society.

Summary. In preparing the young for grown-up responsibility, society depends increasingly on formal instruction in the schools. The last century has seen an enormous multiplication of schools and colleges. The religious motive has largely given way to the democratic ideal of equal educational opportunity for all. This ideal is continually being extended. Class and sex distinctions have been swept away by provision of public elementary and high schools. The course of study is being reconstructed that it may be more useful and interesting to the average pupil. The needs of the handicapped are at last being recognized.

Employers are continually demanding longer preparation in those seeking work, and this obliges the high schools and colleges to expand their enrollment. The need of vocational training is one reason for the amazing recent growth of adult education. Another reason is the longing for self-development. Adults study in order to make for themselves a fuller life.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why has school attendance of the pupils enrolled become more faithful? (See table on p. 264.)
2. Explain the marked decrease in child labor since 1910.
3. For what portions of the population are compulsory attendance laws necessary?
4. What conditions have produced the vastly increased attendance at high school?
5. How is the high school being made over? What are the merits of the junior high school?
6. What factors are responsible for the rapid growth of the junior colleges?
7. Enumerate the arguments for adult education.
8. What is meant by professional improvement? Why is it necessary?
9. In what forms does adult education chiefly come to rural

dwellers? Can you mention agencies not enumerated in the text?

10. Contrast a forum with an ordinary lecture.
11. What are the advantages of the correspondence method of study? Disadvantages?
12. Social planning for the handicapped should have what aims?
13. Can you see any social significance in the fact that a child who neither sees nor hears nor speaks can be educated?
14. What reply could you make to a businessman who asserts that too many pupils are going to high school and college at the taxpayers' expense?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Ask volunteers to report on the contribution to education made by each of the following Americans: Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher, Mary Lyon, Elizabeth Peabody, Calvin Stowe, Booker Washington. Illustrate with their pictures and with pictures of the institutions to which they devoted their efforts. An assembly program could be developed.
2. Prepare a report or obtain a speaker on the history of education in your state; similarly, for the history of education in your community. If possible, illustrate with pictures.
3. Prepare a report on the life and the training of Helen Keller.
4. Draw up a list of all the opportunities for adult education available within your community. Do not neglect correspondence and extension courses offered by your state university.
5. Prepare an exhibit of correspondence school advertising. Underline claims which you consider objectionable.
6. Would you favor the offering of a summer school term in the public schools of all cities? Why or why not? Should your own community offer such a summer school? Would you favor compulsory attendance?

7. What social benefits may result from the increasing number of the college-trained?
8. What practical help could your class give to the public library in your community? If you live in a community without a library, outline steps by which you and other interested citizens could remedy the lack.
9. Attend an open forum on some question in which the class is interested. Discuss its value as a method of adult education.
10. Ask a blind person to demonstrate to the class how he reads and writes in Braille. Try to secure someone to tell you how volunteers may learn to make books for the blind and why this work is so greatly needed.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE REPLANNING OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

Can the United States afford to spend more money on education?

Are the public schools really free?

How shall we overcome geographical inequalities in educational opportunity?

Why do traditional teaching methods fail?

Is there really a surplus of college-trained men and women?

Where shall they find employment?

THE GREAT PURPOSE of the school should be to prepare the coming generation to participate actively and courageously in building a democratic industrial society that will co-operate with other nations in the exchange of goods, in the cultivation of the arts, in the advancement of knowledge and thought, and in maintaining the peace of the world.

GEORGE COUNTS

Education a Form of Social Planning

THE BUILDING of a school and the making of a curriculum involve long-term social planning. The community is looking ahead to the time when the children shall be adult, that it may prepare them for adult responsibility. But adults are so busy, each with his own affairs, that often they do not contribute much thought to the schools. They may not be aware of new demands upon the schools, nor of new advances in the science of education. Too many of them want the schools to be like the schools of their own youth; unconsciously they stand in the way of educational progress. This is one

reason that the schools have been slow to adapt their program to new social and economic conditions.

All too commonly, schools are following educational plans made years ago, as if the pupils were to enter the same kind of world that existed when their parents and teachers were young. Education is lagging behind in a rapidly changing civilization. Vast sums are being spent for education with no assurance that society is providing the kinds and quality of training that young people most need.

The time has come for replanning the entire educational program. To do this educators seek to foresee the situation that the oncoming generation will encounter. Are employers to demand ever more highly trained men and women? And are positions going to be hard to find? Then painstaking vocational guidance must be provided at school. Is the chief economic function of the family to be the purchase of goods? If so, a considerable part of the school course must be devoted to the guidance of consumers. Are the people soon to have abundant leisure? Then preparation for its intelligent use is the duty of the school. Is the day of economic individualism drawing to a close? If so, the competitive spirit which the schools have fostered in the past becomes a positive injury to society. The kind of society which educators see emerging ought continually to be taken account of in planning the schools.

The Unique Task of the School. Society looks to the school to raise the average level of culture and to adjust the young to new conditions. These tasks cannot be left to the home. The family perpetuates whatever is traditional, weaving ancient customs, prejudices, and superstitions into the child's personality. The school seeks to pass on only the better portions of the cultural heritage. It replaces superstitions with scientific knowledge and drills children in hygienic habits and

agreeable manners. It arouses an interest in many subjects and places that are seldom or never discussed in the ordinary home. It transmits knowledge and skills — literature, music, history, arts and crafts, — which the average parent cannot teach his children. It seeks to establish higher ethical standards than are held by the average man. Only the school could have accomplished, however imperfectly, the adjustment of immigrant children to a culture different from that of the parents.

Questions that Confront Educational Planners. As the tasks of the school become ever greater and more important, farsighted planning is the more necessary. The problem of financial support looms large; what shall be done to assist those communities which cannot afford even their present inadequate schools? Who chiefly benefits from schooling, anyway? Should parents be asked to pay tuition for their children? Are the methods of teaching now in use effective? What should be the fundamental aims of the school? Finding the answer to these questions is the first step to better educational planning.

Can Society Afford to Provide More Free Education?

Who Benefits from Free Education? Most people would answer this question by saying, "The student benefits." If financial benefit alone is being thought of, someone might object, "What about the unemployment among high school and college graduates? Don't you know that in New York City in 1935 (to take but one glaring example of a widespread condition), four out of every ten applicants for work relief were 'white collar' and professional workers, including executives, personnel managers, teachers, editors, physicians, dentists, engineers, architects, draftsmen, and the like? What about

all the money they have spent in securing their training, and the money they might have earned had they not been in school?"

Nevertheless, it is probable that on the average and in the long run every additional year of schooling adds slightly to the total earning power of the individual, or at least enables him to find work more easily and under pleasanter conditions. The real benefits of education are not measurable in terms of money but rather in the spiritual enrichment of life. With these we are not at the moment concerned.

In most classes of work the employer benefits from the schooling possessed by his employees. Were this not so, employers would not be continually demanding better trained workers. Education raises the productivity of the employee and decreases his mistakes, thereby making his employment more profitable. At least this is true in most occupations.

Society is the chief benefactor of free education. Insofar as the schools raise the productivity of the average man and woman, the national income is increased. Schooling enables many to move from tasks at which they produce little to tasks at which they can produce more. For instance, a well-trained farmer can engage in livestock breeding instead of raising crops or producing meat. This is a gain to society, since there is need for improved livestock.

Again, it is to society's advantage for more people to be trained for the professions. Suppose, for instance, that medical schools should be made free. Everybody, except the doctors, would benefit. Medical advice would become cheaper and would be more generally available, especially in rural districts, in schools, and to those of low and moderate income. People would soon learn to go to the doctor for minor injuries and at the first sign of illness; an enormous amount of preventable

ill-health and death could thus be eliminated. The nine days a year lost by the average worker and the ten days a year lost by the school child because of illness might be cut to one half or even to one fourth. Fewer homes would be broken by the premature death of a parent. Domestic unhappiness, to which ill-health often contributes seriously, might be reduced, and with it the number of problem children and delinquents. In these and other ways vast sums might be saved by society, while at the same time everybody might become more productive. An increase in the number and especially in the quality of engineers, inventors, research workers, ministers, social workers, chemists, teachers, designers, and the like, would benefit society just as would an increase in the number of doctors.

Society would also benefit by any contribution the schools could make to the lessening of individual maladjustment. Mental disease is even more widespread today than other kinds of ill-health. It could undoubtedly be reduced by the more careful training of teachers, school administrators, and parents in the principles of mental hygiene. Through reducing the number of maladjusted individuals, society would save part of the staggering cost of inefficiency, divorce, insanity, suicide, and crime. Every dollar wisely spent on free instruction in mental hygiene might save several dollars of the national income.

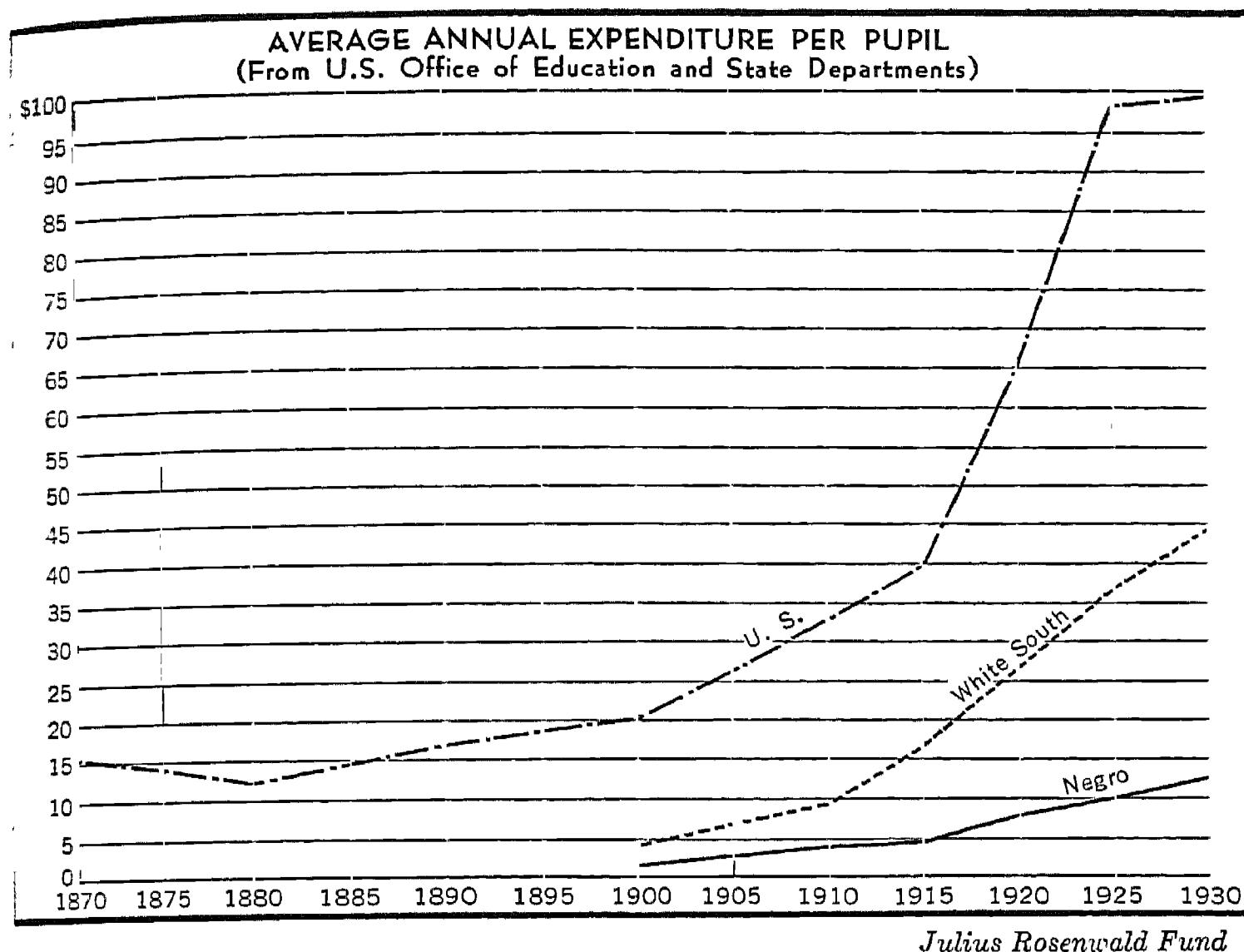
Our country is already committed to the provision of universal free education. Free education should, of course, be carefully planned to meet the actual economic and social needs of the nation. There is every reason to believe that after this education is paid for, society will have more real income left to distribute than is now the case.

Are the Public Schools and Colleges Free? It is estimated that parents bear about two thirds of the total

cost of education in what are called "free" schools. The third contributed by the community is for the maintenance of the school building, teachers' salaries, coal, light, janitor service, and books. This contribution per pupil is one half what it costs the parent to send the child to school instead of supporting him at some other activity needing fewer clothes and incidentals. In New York City the extra cost of sending a fourteen-year-old boy to school for a year as compared, for instance, with letting him play on the streets, engage in industrial homework, or serve as an apprentice, is estimated at \$145. This takes no account of the child's possible earnings were he not at school. Attendance at a state university costs the parent about \$700 a year for extra clothes, traveling expenses, books, fees, and the additional expense of living at school as compared with living at home.

There are many communities in the United States where textbooks and supplies are not furnished free by the schools. The result is that numerous families actually cannot afford to send their children to elementary school. In the many rural areas where free transportation is not provided, the poorer families living at a distance are unable to send their children to school. There are even sections of such poverty that some children stay home because they lack shoes or winter clothing.

So long as the child with *no* money cannot go to a school, it is not strictly accurate to say that that school is *free*. Were the education of no child to be interfered with because of his lack of money, much creative ability now going to waste would be developed and utilized. In this connection it is interesting to note that in a few cities here and abroad scholarships are awarded to boys of exceptional ability. In London not only is money for clothing, food, and incidentals provided if necessary,



The Inequality of Educational Opportunity

The average expenditure for every pupil throughout the nation in 1930 was \$99; the expenditure for white children in the South was \$44.31; the expenditure for Negro children was \$12.57, only about one eighth that of the average pupil in the nation as a whole.

but in case his parents need the boy's earnings, they are paid enough to enable him to remain at his studies until he completes the university.

Solving the Problem of Unequal Educational Opportunity

Inequalities in Educational Opportunity. Great as educational progress in the United States has been, we have not yet realized the ideal of equal educational opportunity.

Racial Inequalities. No group has so little chance for schooling as has the Negro. Wherever separate schools are maintained for Negroes and for whites, the Negro school is almost certain to be inferior — the building

usually old, out of repair, and ill-equipped, the teachers as a rule meagerly trained and very poorly paid, the classes large and the attendance laws not strictly enforced. No southern state has an average of ten colored children to the square mile, which means that the schools are likely to be far apart, and not within reach of some of the children.

The Negroes pay less taxes in proportion to the number of their children of school age than do the whites. It is frequently argued, therefore, that they should not have as good schools as the whites. This is a short-sighted policy. The denial of education to any group keeps that group unproductive and maladjusted, the source of numberless problems to society. The table¹

	<i>Per Cent of Total Population 6-13 That Negroes Are</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total Expenditures for Education Received by Negroes</i>
South Carolina	54.9	10.66
Mississippi	53.0	10.51
Georgia	43.5	13.33
Louisiana	39.3	9.98
Alabama	38.9	8.40
Florida	36.9	7.91
North Carolina	31.5	12.13
Virginia	31.3	11.09
Arkansas	25.9	15.99
Tennessee	22.9	11.93
Maryland	17.8	9.67
Texas	16.2	12.00
Delaware	14.4	13.78
Kentucky	8.2	8.02
Oklahoma	7.2	4.73
West Virginia	4.7	4.65
Missouri	4.1	3.15

¹ Charles S. Johnson, *The Negro in American Civilization* (Henry Holt and Company, 1930), p. 262.

shows the proportion of educational funds spent for Negro education, and the proportion of Negroes in the school population in seventeen southern states. Note that the states with the greatest proportion of Negroes subject them to the most severe educational inequalities.

Geographical Inequalities. Geographical inequalities are likewise very marked. Sometimes educational ideals are lower in one place than another, so that the citizens are satisfied with inferior schools. In other cases the inequality is due to differences in the ability to support a school system. A study made some years ago in a rural county in Minnesota revealed that the poorest school district must depend upon taxing an average wealth equal to \$1600 for every school child; the richest district had \$34,700 which could be taxed for every school child. Equally striking differences exist in the average wealth of states, the range being from \$2,000 average wealth per child in the poorest state to \$20,000 per child in the richest state.

Whether the cause is a difference in the willingness or in the ability of the people to support schools, shocking variations exist in the education provided within the several states. Thus in 1930 the average number of days attended by each pupil enrolled in public school varied from 98 days in a southern state to 163 days in the state of New York. Whereas in this same southern state enrollment in the fourth year of high school was but 4.5 per cent of that in the first grade, it was 43 per cent in the state of Washington. The average value of school property in another southern state is only \$72 per pupil, but in the state of New York it is \$407 per pupil.

The Handicaps of the Rural School. Rural districts seldom provide as good schools as do the towns. In 1934 there were still 138,542 one-room schoolhouses in the United States, in most of which a poorly prepared teacher was trying to teach six or eight different grades.



RARE IS THE CHILD THAT KNOWLEDGE CAN BEGUILF IN THE
MEAGER ATMOSPHERE OF THE ONE-ROOM SCHOOLHOUSE

Unless transportation is provided at public expense, children in the more isolated parts of the district may be unable to go to school. High schools are seldom found in rural school districts. Only when free transportation, textbooks, and tuition are furnished can the average child attend high school in some other district. In a few states rural children are boarded without cost to their parents in the nearest community which has a high school. Some states will send a tutor to live in an isolated district which has too few families to maintain even a one-room school. These are states whose taxpayers have an exceptionally keen sense of responsibility for every child.

The Problem of Financial Support. In 1913, 1.5 per cent of the national income was spent on schools and colleges. In 1928, three per cent of the national income and one fifth of all taxes went to education. The

amazing growth in the cost of public elementary and secondary schools is shown below:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Expenditures for Public Elementary and Secondary Schools</i>
1890	\$ 140,507,000
1900	214,965,000
1910	462,250,000
1920	1,036,151,000
1930	2,316,790,000

Much of this increase is due to a decline in the purchasing power of the dollar. Some of it is due to the provision of better school buildings and equipment. The school year has doubled in length since 1890, bringing higher expense for salaries, fuel, and upkeep of buildings. But the largest part of the increase is the result of multiplying by ten the number of high school students enrolled in 1890.

Two billion dollars is a huge sum, although we spend practically as much every year for tobacco. Were the educational standards now prevailing in the average community in the more prosperous states to be reached in the average community of every state, possibly two billion more would be required.

What the Great Depression Revealed. An educational crisis developed after 1930, becoming acute in 1933-34. The decline in tax receipts due to the industrial depression, together with the mounting expenses for relief, forced nearly all communities in the United States to reduce their educational budgets. Those sections which had the least provision for education were the hardest hit. Thus, in one southern state in 1933 eighty-five per cent of the schools were closed. In many places, school terms were drastically shortened and teachers' salaries reduced to an extremely low level. In some rural areas teaching positions were allotted to the lowest bidder,

with no attention given to qualifications. The curtailment of the educational program occurred just when the schools were called upon to care for millions of children old enough to work for whom no employment existed. As a result of the crisis two facts were brought to the attention of our people.

First, the tax system by which the schools are supported urgently needs to be revised. Real estate should not be expected to carry all the burden.

Second, many of the poorer districts cannot finance adequate schools without state or federal aid. In the past, when wealth was fairly well distributed over the country, and the cost of the schools was low, local financing was suitable. With the continued tendency for wealth to concentrate in limited areas, serious educational inequalities have appeared. While thirteen per cent of the children of the United States live in the southeastern states, their parents receive only two per cent of the national income.

State Aid for Schools. The importance of state aid to equalize the task of maintaining schools is illustrated by a study made in Indiana. It was proposed that a minimum budget of \$1000 for each elementary classroom be established throughout the state. This program could be financed by Fort Wayne on a local tax rate of nineteen cents on every \$100 of real estate. In Nashville a tax of \$3.67, in Warren Township a tax of fifteen cents, and in Springfield Township a tax of \$4.36 per \$100 of real estate would be required.

Massachusetts began in 1874 to help weak districts, New Jersey in 1881. Now most of the states give financial aid to weak districts. The states may tap incomes, inheritances, and other sources of revenue which are closed to smaller units of government. Moreover, they may distribute to rural areas taxes largely gathered in the comparatively wealthy cities. This is altogether

just, since for decades a large percentage of rural young people, after leaving school, have gone to the city, giving the city the most productive years of their lives.

Four plans for state aid are now in practice. Some states allow each school district a sum based on the number of children of school age within its boundaries. But this is unfair to sparsely settled rural districts, which must spend considerably more per pupil than thickly settled districts if the same standard of schooling is to be reached. In some states the distribution of state funds is proportional to the number of teachers employed in each district. Unfortunately, the poorer districts have fewer teachers in proportion to the number of children of school age. Negro teachers are sometimes supposed to teach one hundred or more children of assorted ages — a situation bound to result in truancy.

A plan recently adopted by several states is thought to be fair. The amount of money which is regarded as the absolute minimum for the conduct of a reasonably good school is determined. Then the legislature passes an act recognizing the joint obligation of the district and state to provide this minimum for every school. When the local district cannot raise the amount by a reasonable rate of taxation, the state supplements the local revenue. New York has fixed \$1500 as the minimum for a one-teacher school. If a one-teacher school district levies a four mill tax (forty cents on \$100) on the full value of property in that district, and if it fails to obtain \$1500, the state provides whatever is lacking. New York distributes one hundred millions a year to the different school districts. In some communities eighty to ninety per cent of the cost of education comes from state grants.

In 1932 North Carolina began to pay for an eight-month school term for every child in the state. Although a large percentage of schools in neighboring

states shortened their terms or closed down altogether, the schools of North Carolina successfully weathered the financial crisis. However, the more prosperous communities complained that state control tended to lower their standards.

More Adults and Fewer Children in the Population. The burden of rearing and educating a thousand white children was borne, in 1790, by only 782 adults. In 1930 this burden was shared by two and a half times as many adults. The statistics below reveal this interesting change in the age makeup of the population.

NUMBER OF WHITE PERSONS TWENTY YEARS OF AGE
AND OVER PER THOUSAND WHITE CHILDREN
UNDER SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE, 1790-1930

1790....782	1840.....989	1890....1502
1800....850	1850....1118	1900....1583
1810....847	1860....1175	1910....1765
1820....883	1870....1244	1920....1801
1830....931	1880....1355	1930....2013

In South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia, the percentage of the population twenty years of age and over ranged, in 1930, from 49.4 to 53.6, whereas for the entire country it was 61.1 per cent. Accordingly these states have more child labor and poorer schools than states with a smaller proportion of children. California, with 69.4 per cent of adults in its population, is noted for extremely high educational standards.

The fact that the states with the largest percentage of children are also states with a low average income is thought by some to indicate the need of federal aid to the schools. One argument for this proposal is that it would tend toward a more equal distribution of the national income. Opposition to federal aid comes from

two groups: (1) those who fear that it would bring federal interference into the schools; and (2) those who are unwilling to have the federal income and inheritance taxes raised. The second argument is seldom openly mentioned.

The Dawn of the Science of Education

Why Traditional Teaching Methods Fail. A vast amount of educational effort has been and is still being wasted through ignorance of how learning takes place. Traditional teaching methods often fail of permanent results. Information may be remembered by the pupil long enough to pass an examination and then forgotten. Any teaching procedure that demands memorizing alone is ineffective. It destroys interest, wastes time, and does not develop the power to think. These are the faults of the commonest teaching method of all — the recitation of what the pupil has read in the textbook.

Only the pupil whose interest has been aroused will learn. In the past, interest was created by purely artificial devices, including the fear of a beating, disgrace, and the competitive marking system. None of these methods produced interest in the material to be learned. In the minds of all but the quickest learners were fostered fear of failure, feelings of inferiority, and discouragement.

It is now known that there is no mental growth without self-activity and self-direction. The pupil will learn quickly whatever he wants to learn. Readiness for learning is also essential. In a progressive school the children are not obliged to study reading until their own desire to read awakens — that is, when they are ready for learning to read. It has been found that children who did not begin to read until they were in the second grade soon caught up with others who had been required



THE ARCHITECT'S APPRENTICE CO-OPERATES EAGERLY WITH HIS TEACHER BECAUSE THE TASKS SET HAVE REAL MEANING TO HIM

to start reading in the first grade before they had the wish and the physiological readiness to read. The same is true of arithmetic, writing, and other skills.

Book knowledge, to be of any value, must be put to work soon after it is acquired. Otherwise it fades beyond recall. The fact that few high school or college graduates who have studied a foreign language can converse or read in it shows that most of them have no occasion to practice it outside the classroom. It is a question whether any kind of knowledge is educative that will not be put to use in a real-life situation. For *education looks toward the control of experience*. It cannot control experience unless it goes into action.

New Methods of Teaching. The progressive school creates abundant opportunities for pupils to utilize

whatever they learn. For example, a class studying world history may prepare, for each unit of their course, exhibits, posters, models, and an assembly program. They spend sufficient time with each unit to develop a keen interest in it, and to see its relationship to other units. In getting a program ready to entertain the school, they are obliged to learn their material thoroughly and organize it for themselves. The varied activities make use of a variety of talents, and enable each pupil, on the level of his own ability, to contribute something that he feels is worthy. At every age and in every subject the key to effective learning is the self-activity of the student in carrying out a purpose which has genuine importance to him.

In the light of new understanding of the learning process, textbooks are being greatly improved. Much useless material has been weeded out. This is notably true of elementary spelling and arithmetic books and to some extent in most other subjects. Practical applications are being stressed more and more. The recitation method of studying the textbook is giving way to its use as a guide to further reading and to varied activities.

The up-to-date teacher makes continual use of pictures, exhibits, and other visual aids, and arranges field trips whenever practicable. Students learn little through merely reading or hearing of unfamiliar things. One picture, it is said, is worth ten thousand words. For this reason films designed for school use may be valuable supplements to teaching. However, a film is not educative except as it affects daily thinking and conduct. Passive reception of information is never educative. It merely "goes in one ear (or eye) and out the other."

Undoubtedly the science of education has still to make great strides. As its discoveries are applied, our schools

will become far more effective than even the best ones now are. Schooling will be more and more closely related to living.

The Challenge to Higher Education

Have We Too Many College Graduates? Among the insistent problems to which educational planning must find a solution is that of the unemployment of college and professional school graduates. A great many of them in recent years have either been unable to find work or have been engaged in work which makes but little use of their education. Tens of thousands are selling goods in retail stores, running elevators, acting as chauffeurs, or working as filling station attendants.

Higher education should neither unfit an individual for labor nor entitle him to an easier living than others less fortunate. It is in itself a great privilege, conferring upon its possessor the keys to the realms of literature, philosophy, and science, that he may enjoy all his life the noblest attainments of the human mind. Besides, it prolongs the individual's carefree youth at a period when most young men and women are already laboring to earn a living and support a family. Certainly the college or professional school graduate has been highly privileged and is under a correspondingly heavy obligation to society. Far from despising toil, he ought gladly to do his share of it. But is society so abundantly supplied with college-trained men and women that it can afford to hire them to sell groceries and gasoline?

To this question the social planner would say "No." Far from a surplus, there is still a shortage of specialists. What is lacking is the social machinery for using them to the best advantage.

The full-time capacity operation of industry would directly create jobs for many thousands of chemists,

engineers, research workers, personnel directors, and the like. Too, it would so greatly increase the national income that much larger taxes could be levied for the support of schools, hospitals, and other social services requiring specialists.

The raising of educational standards in the poorer districts to the level of those now maintained by the average districts would require the hiring of many additional teachers. Thousands of one-room schools now taught by high school graduates or those with only a year or two of normal school training would secure more qualified teachers. Thousands of new high schools would be required for areas where high schools are now very far apart. There is already a trend toward the employment of more teachers of physical education, playground directors, dramatic coaches, supervisors, and visiting teachers. There is also a tendency to employ college graduates in the junior high and the elementary schools, and to demand a master's degree of senior high school teachers.

When we have found a way to enable every family in this country to obtain adequate medical care, an acute shortage of doctors, surgeons, dentists, nurses, and public health officials will become apparent. Additional hundreds of thousands must then be trained in the various branches of medicine and nursing.

Should society undertake the task of providing decent housing to every family now badly housed, all the unemployed architects, draftsmen, and engineers would be needed in their professions. In fact there would be too few of these specialists.

There is even now a shortage of highly trained persons competent to act as probation and parole officers, psychiatric social workers, marriage adjustment counselors, and vocational counselors. These positions are now, for the most part, filled by persons inadequately

qualified. Furthermore, in a community needing a thousand of such experts, perhaps only fifty positions have been established. Great savings would follow were the need to be met. For instance, a skillful probation officer may supervise thirty or forty delinquents, and keep most of them going straight, at one fifth the cost of maintaining them in institutions. A vocational counselor, by guiding individuals into the jobs they can best perform, may save innumerable expensive mistakes and accidents. A psychiatric social worker will have daily opportunities to help individuals who are on the verge of mental breakdown, delinquency, or suicide to make a better adjustment. Such services are not an extravagance. Once set in motion they would be profitable as well as humane. They will be demanded when more citizens are aware of what they can add to the social welfare. To create this demand is the duty of the schools.

Wanted: Education for Human Advancement. In the past the schools and colleges have often encouraged the idea that the obtaining of an education will insure higher earnings. They have been occupied in helping individuals to get ahead of their fellows in the struggle for gain. Now that good education is enjoyed by so many, it is no longer certain to increase the individual's lifetime earnings, although it raises his social status and betters his chances to find employment in the more agreeable positions. But why should society provide high schools and colleges at public expense, if their chief purpose is merely to enable their graduates to win in the fierce competition for economic rewards?

"I wonder if it is not a fair statement," said Harold L. Ickes, "that while we have indulged ourselves liberally in education, we have not done this so much for the sake of education itself or to add to the culture and graciousness of life, but because of the belief that by

educating ourselves and our children we have been making it more possible to win in the race for the acquisition of wealth."

If our public schools and colleges are truly to serve society, they must not be satisfied to promote individual success. They are entitled to public support only if they are actively serving the total welfare. When our country was still undeveloped, and society needed men to start enterprises of all kinds, the emphasis on individual success was justified. Now the situation is different. Our economic system has become highly interdependent and collectivist. (See Chapter XXVII.) It will not operate without careful attention to the interest of all — consumers as well as producers, farmers as well as city people.

The schools must give a true picture of our interdependent society and the ways in which each individual can contribute to the whole. To each the school should give a strong sense of social obligation. This is nowhere so important as in the college and university, since higher education may be used powerfully either for or against the public welfare. It is the highly trained person who can contribute most to the reshaping of our institutions. His long schooling should lead to an understanding of social problems and the desire to help in solving them. In work for the social welfare, rather than in the effort to amass a private fortune, he should find his highest satisfaction. It has been well said that "in an integrated society definitely committed to the democratic ideal, men would find glory and honor in the struggle with nature and the war on poverty, pestilence, ignorance, injustice, and ugliness."¹ To bring this kind of society, and this kind of people, into being is the task of education.

¹ George Counts, *The Social Foundations of Education* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 543.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why must the educational planner study social trends?
2. Enumerate educational tasks which cannot be expected of the average home.
3. How does the employer benefit from free education? Is he aware of this?
4. How does agricultural education raise the productivity of farmers?
5. Show that well-planned education is a good investment for society.
6. If tuition had to be paid for the privilege of attending high school, what harm to society might result?
7. Should the education offered to any group be proportionate to their contribution to taxes? Give concrete reasons for your answer.
8. Give two possible explanations for the inequalities in the school opportunities provided by various communities.
9. Why was the national bill for public education so much larger in 1930 than in 1890?
10. What facts regarding school finance emerged as the result of the recent industrial depression?
11. Can state aid alone equalize the educational program of the various districts throughout the United States? Explain.
12. Enumerate positions in which highly trained specialists could reduce social wastes and improve social efficiency.
13. At what period in our history was individual success a sufficient justification for the provision of free higher education?
14. What is the true justification today for the expenditure of public money on higher education?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Make an exhibit of textbooks in use a generation or more ago.
2. Appoint a committee to find out and report on financial aid to students under the National Youth Administration.

3. Find out what provision is made by your state for the aid of local schools. How does it affect your community?
4. Ask your principal or some other school administrator to speak to you on legislation in your state that intimately affects your school.
5. What are the weaknesses in local planning of schools? Advantages?
6. What influences have shaped the curriculum? Can you illustrate from the program of your own school?
7. Hold a panel discussion or an open forum on the merits of federal aid to schools. Relate this especially to any bill that may be pending in regard to such aid. The National Education Association in Washington will be one source of material.
8. What is the average annual cost of incidentals in your high school?
9. In what economic classes can creative ability be expected to appear? How might it be conserved?
10. What applications of the newer knowledge of the learning process have been made in your school?
11. In what parts of the school system of your state do you think that the qualifications of school teachers should be raised?

READINGS

- Counts, George S., *The American Road to Culture. The Social Foundations of Education.* Part Three, Chapter III.
- Ellwood, Charles A., *Social Problems, a Sociology.* Chapter XVI.
- Kilpatrick, William H., *Education for a Changing Civilization.*
- Overstreet, H. A., *We Move in New Directions.*
- Jacks, L. P., *The Education of the Whole Man.*
- Judd, Charles H., *Problems of Education in the United States.*

STORIES AND BIOGRAPHY

- Furman, Lucy, *The Quare Women.* The "quare women" are schoolteachers who came into the Kentucky mountains and tried to win the proud hill folk to a more progressive mode of living.

Murray, Lena, and Harlow, Alvin, *Schoolhouse in the Foothills*.

A delightful account of five years of teaching in the Tennessee mountains.

Shields, James M., *Just Plain Larnin'*. A novel based on the experiences of a progressive teacher in a community that wanted "just plain larnin'."

UNIT V



THE ULTIMATE VALUES

CHAPTER XV. RELIGION — THE ENDLESS QUEST. Religion the behavior pattern of a group in search of high values. Three parts of every religion. The idea of one God. Rise and contribution of Christianity. Functions of religion and the church; nonreligious functions; the value of worship. The church in transition; the future of organized religion.

CHAPTER XVI. LEISURE — ITS POSSIBILITIES. The qualities of leisure; types of desirable recreation. Two studies of leisure habits. Growth of the recreation movement. Methods of financing municipal recreation.

CHAPTER XV

RELIGION—THE ENDLESS QUEST

How does their religion reveal what people value most?
What basic ideas are found in all the great living religions?
Has Christianity assisted or impeded social reform?
How does cultural advance affect the idea of God?
Will the church survive?

RELIGION'S GREATEST CONTRIBUTION to the individual and to society is the nurturing of a right and noble spirit in which life can be lived and all problems met as they arise.

HORACE T. HOUF

As the Sociologist Looks at Religion. The first men of whose culture we know anything, Neanderthal men, were religious, and so have been all peoples ever since. It is impossible to think of a group of people without a religion of some kind. *Religion is the behavior pattern of a group in search of what it most highly values.* Among primitive people religious values are simply those things essential for life, and religion colors their entire activity. Everything they do as a group is an intensely serious matter, to be entered upon only after asking the aid of unseen powers. The risk of failure is so great, due to the lack of knowledge and of adequate tools and techniques, that primitive men dare not rely on their own efforts. Only as knowledge grew, and men became more confident of success in their everyday activities, did they begin to reserve the religious attitude for times of special difficulty, such as the launching of a canoe, hunting, and war, and for the crises of life,—birth, marriage, sickness, famine, and death.

In modern times religion has tended to become more and more detached from ordinary daily affairs, in which men increasingly rely on their own powers. There is a growing inclination to identify religion chiefly with the desire to be good, instead of with the attempt to secure a material blessing. Today men seek relationship with the eternal chiefly in order to surmount temptation, and to resolve their inner conflicts, and thus to lead a better life. Even those who call themselves atheists (nonbelievers in God) accept some values as supremely worth striving for, and in seeking these values adopt a religious attitude.

The Three Parts of Every Religion. Every religion, however primitive or however advanced, has three parts. The first is a description of the world, especially its hidden causes and powers. Although science is gradually rewriting most of the religious explanation of the universe, there will always be some things that science cannot explain, some mysteries to which only religion can give an appearance of reasonableness. The hidden causes and powers of the universe are necessarily expressed in symbols. Usually they are personalized in such forms as fairies, devils, ghosts, angels, or gods. There is a tendency among some to conceive of the fundamental power of the universe as a principle — Unity, Beauty, Justice, Goodness, Truth, or Love.

Second, every religion contains an account of the fortunes and destiny of man in this world and perhaps in a life to come. This includes the kind of behavior approved or punished by the hidden powers or in harmony with them. Every group believes that some kinds of behavior will be rewarded and other kinds punished, either now or in the hereafter. Even those who think of themselves as irreligious have some opinions regarding conduct that is and is not likely to prosper. Such a simple judgment as that lazy people will not get ahead

is evidence that the speaker has adopted a method of explaining human destiny.

Third, every religion has a technique to control, to secure the aid of, or to enter into communion with, the unseen powers. This technique may range all the way from a sorcerer's spell to the contemplation of something beautiful. Whatever it is, its practice gives confidence, courage, and inward peace.

The Beginnings of Religion. Early man did not distinguish between animate and inanimate objects. Everything that affected his life — even the stones, the rivers, the lightning, and the rain — seemed alive. To succeed in any undertaking he must control or at least prevent the interference of natural objects and forces.

At first he tried to force nature to do his will. Perhaps he carried the heart of some animal that he had dreamed of, thinking thus to compel its assistance in the hunt. Generally he set a pattern for the desired event. He buried banana-shaped stones under a banana tree to make it fruitful. He danced in imitation of the fall of rain to bring showers. He melted a waxen image of his enemy that the enemy might die. He gave food to the river that it should be obliged to aid his fishing. Such attempts at forcing the universe to do man's bidding are acts of magic. Magic is like daydreaming. It gives imaginary fulfillment of a strong desire. Rising in a difficulty or crisis, it supplies courage and confidence. Supported by magic, the primitive sailor, hunter, or warrior is more hopeful and persistent, and therefore more efficient. When reliable methods are discovered for accomplishing a given purpose, magic is no longer required. It is used only in those cases where knowledge is felt to be inadequate. Nearly everything that early man tried to do was uncertain, hazardous, or dangerous, and magic was constantly called upon.

After a while man began to distinguish between matter

and spirit. Through the experience of dreaming, he had decided that human beings have spirits which can leave the body during sleep. He believed that at death the spirit leaves the body but remains near its familiar haunts. He thought that volcanoes, lakes, springs, trees, animals, and other natural objects have spirits like his own. Since the spirits had human characteristics, they were dealt with by all the kinds of behavior that are effective in human relations, especially by flattery, cajolery, scolding, bribery, and bargaining. With the appearance of these techniques religious practices could be distinguished from witchcraft or magic. Magic — the coercion of the universe — did not disappear, but it was no longer the only way of meeting a difficulty.

Man long regarded the spirits as predominantly evil. It is necessary to keep on their good side; otherwise they will work great harm. The offering of gifts or sacrifices is a pronounced feature of most primitive religions. Courteous hospitality is also thought to make the spirits more gracious. Certain Indian tribes held a yearly feast in honor of the animals they had killed. Apologies were offered to images of these animals lest they be offended with the hunters and cause future hunts to fail. A tribe in the Solomon Islands keep the skulls of their dead in a building set apart. When the village dances, these are brought out and arranged as an audience with the remark, "Now you can watch us dance." If the dead ancestors should be neglected, they would revenge themselves in some terrible manner.

As knowledge advanced, man's life became more secure and he was less terrified by the gods. Some of them he began to regard as his friends. Nomadic tribes sometimes enticed a friendly spirit into an idol or a box which they could carry around with them. Through the help of their special tribal god the lesser gods were more easily controlled. When a nomad tribe settled down in



THE SEA-ROVING NORSEMEN TREMBLED WHEN THOR THE THUNDERER LET LOOSE HIS HAMMER IN THE PATH OF THEIR SHIPS

one place, it built a shrine or a temple for its chief god to dwell in. Sacrifices were still depended on to win the god's favor, but little by little the idea grew that the way to please a good god is by good behavior.

The Idea of One God. The sun-worshipers were first to reach the idea of a single, supreme god. This idea, known as *monotheism*, apparently originated in Egypt. In the fourteenth century B.C. an Egyptian Pharaoh, Amenotep IV (Ikhnaton), declared that there is no other god but Aton, the living sun. He tried to sweep away the worship of all other gods, causing their idols to be destroyed and their names erased from the monuments. He composed beautiful hymns to Aton, the source of all life. He taught that Aton is just, and that he requires men to deal justly with one another. For

the first time a religion had arisen in which men strove for personal piety and for communion with God. After Ikhnaton's death the old gods were brought back. Only traces of his noble teaching remained.

A Persian prophet, Zoroaster, who lived sometime between 1000 and 700 B.C., founded a monotheistic religion which still survives. He taught that the universe is a battleground between the powers of light and the powers of darkness. The heaven-deity, Ahura Mazda, is the maker of the universe. He is the god of light, order, purity, and truth. There is also a god of evil, supported by the old gods of the popular faith. Man's duty is to love truth and do right, that Good shall triumph over Evil, and Mazda shall reign supreme in a righteous world.

The Hebrews developed a lofty monotheism which became the foundation of Christianity. Under the leadership of Moses they first accepted Jehovah as their god, and promised to have no dealings with the gods of other nations. Jehovah was conceived to be purely a tribal deity in the beginning. A succession of great religious leaders appeared. These were the prophets. To them Jehovah was the god of the whole earth. They declared that he should not be worshiped with burnt offerings but in righteous conduct. "What does the Lord require of thee," said Micah, "but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" The prophets denounced the many gods of the old nature religion and the worship by neighboring peoples of animals and heavenly bodies. They proclaimed that God is a judge over all the nations.

The common people did not understand this advanced faith, and often fell into idol-worship. Then came the conquests of the Hebrews by Assyria and Babylonia. The prophets interpreted these events as a punishment by Jehovah. After the Hebrews returned from captivity

in Babylonia, they were ready to worship one God. Gradually the entire nation adopted the faith of the prophets.

The Fundamentals of Judaism. The basic ideas of the Hebrew religion are found today in all the great living religions:

1. There is but one God. He is perfect, holy, the principle of all spirituality.
2. God is universal, the judge of the whole earth.
3. God is a father, just and merciful. He requires that men shall show justice and mercy to one another.

Judaism strongly emphasizes righteousness and the obligation of man toward his fellows. God is thought of as the avenger of the poor, the father of orphans, and the friend of strangers. These high principles were incorporated in the law. A well-ordered system of poor relief supported by taxation was established in every Hebrew community. Mild and considerate treatment of slaves was recommended. All work must cease on the Sabbath; the slave, the ox, and the stranger must also rest. Debts were canceled every seventh year. Women were far inferior to men in the eyes of the law, yet they were not merely the property of men and not completely without rights as in most other groups at that time. Whereas law codes of other peoples imposed unequal obligations and unequal punishments upon the rich and the poor, the master and the slave, the Judaic code regarded all men as equal before the law. Upon this excellent foundation Christianity was to be built.

The Rise of Christianity. Some regard Jesus as the greatest of the long line of Hebrew prophets; others regard Him as divine. He emphasized that God is a Spirit and that they who worship Him must worship in spirit and in truth. He taught that God is love. It is not enough to obey the law, to be just and upright. A

man should do more than the law requires; he should even do good to his enemies. All his dealings should express the spirit of love. Right conduct is not determined by form; it proceeds from the right inward spirit. Out of the heart are the issues of life. As a man thinketh, so is he. Out of the heart come good and evil deeds. Evil is selfishness.

Jesus ministered to the weak, the outcasts, the poor, the sick, the insane, treating all as sons of God. The consideration He showed to the lowly, to children, and to women was contrary to all tradition. It was to have a powerful effect on human conduct in subsequent ages.

Jesus sought to spiritualize the Judaic religion, believing it had become too formal. He declared that the law and the institutions of religion do not exist for themselves but for the sake of the people. "Man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath was made for man." He said that all the law and the prophets could be expressed in two simple precepts, — "Love thy God," and "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Institutions are always in need of such a reformation and rebirth, for invariably they tend to perpetuate mere outward forms from which the substance has departed. Naturally Jesus was feared and hated by the priests. They could not rest until He was put to death. But a sublime idea cannot be killed, and His example and teachings were immortalized by His crucifixion.

For many years His message and the story of His life were transmitted by word of mouth. It seems likely that some of the beliefs prevalent at the time were added to the story before it was written; at any rate the accounts in the four Gospels are not perfectly consistent. The Epistles are interpretations of Jesus's message, and reflect the varying background and experience of their writers. In places they seem to depart from Jesus's own teachings.

Since the existing religious institutions would have nothing to do with the ideas of Jesus, His followers were obliged to organize a new church. As this grew and spread, a creed was felt to be necessary. In perfecting an organization, and in formulating rites and doctrines, the real teachings of Jesus were sometimes almost forgotten. People are never, of course, able to make full use of a new idea. They have to learn to use it little by little. Generally, the idea is interpreted in different ways at different periods. Jesus's own teachings have shown a remarkable vitality. They seem to be timeless. No one has ever formulated a higher system of ethics; in fact, religious geniuses since Jesus have merely elaborated and applied the principles He set forth.

Periods in Church History. Organized Christianity — the church — has not always emphasized the same things. At first it was concerned with devising a creed; then with elaborating the forms of worship; then with organizing and building churches and deciding how they should be governed. Later most of the energy of the churches went into the founding of monasteries. A few Christians at every period have devoted themselves to mysticism — the attempt to live in communion with God. St. Francis of Assisi, a mystic, is one of the most appealing figures in history. For the past two centuries the chief emphasis has been on foreign missions. The present trend is toward the revival of Jesus's own teachings. Doctrine is being minimized and more attention given to Christian ethics.

Christian history has been briefly outlined as follows:

1. The life of Jesus Christ, 4 B.C.—29 A.D.
2. The early Christian community, 30–50 A.D.
3. The work of Paul, 50–65 A.D.
4. The completion of the New Testament, 65–150 A.D.

5. Christianity's struggle for existence in the Roman Empire, 150–325 A.D.
6. Becoming the one official religion of Europe, 325–1050 A.D.
7. The supremacy of the Pope, 1054–1517 A.D.
8. The Reformation and worldwide dissemination, since 1517 A.D.¹

Christianity now has 600,000,000 adherents, twice as many as Confucianism, the second largest religion. The Bible has been translated into eight hundred languages and dialects. Christian doctrines have already influenced those of the other religions. This influence is growing, inasmuch as the entire world is being Westernized.

The Distinctive Teachings of Christianity. More than any other religion, Christianity has emphasized two ideas:

1. That the aim of religion is the establishment of the Kingdom of God among men, in which all shall serve God by living together as brothers. At first the Kingdom of God was thought to be close at hand. Now it is often thought of as a state of culture in which love shall prevail in human relations, toward which mankind is slowly developing.

2. The supreme worth of every person. All human beings are equal in the sight of God.

The Contribution of Christianity to Social Reform. Anyone familiar with the life of the masses in the Roman Empire at the dawn of the Christian era knows the extreme cheapness of a human being. There were millions of war captives. Most of them worked in chain gangs in galleys, mines, quarries, and on large farms, soon wearing out from excessive toil, brutal punishment, and confinement at night in horrible subter-

¹ R. E. Hume, *The World's Living Religions* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), chap. 12.

anean prisons. They could be killed by their masters for the slightest fault. Gladiatorial combats, in which slaves and criminals were compelled to fight and kill each other, were the favorite amusements of the people. Labor was despised; the free laboring man was without honor. Men had the power of life and death over their wives and children. Unwanted babies were frequently placed in the streets to become the victims of roving dogs and pigs. Men often sold their children into slavery. Persons unable to pay their debts were sold into slavery. Suicide was extremely common.

Christianity stressed the virtues of humility, tenderness, and mercy. It emphasized the dignity of labor and the shame of idleness. "To labor is to pray" was a Christian motto. The church condemned infanticide (the killing of unwanted infants) and suicide, and set its face against unnecessary cruelty. It opened the offices and the privileges of the church to slaves and to masters alike. It recognized slave marriages, upholding the right of the slave to family life. It helped secure the limitation of debt slavery. It opposed the enslavement of fellow Christians. It made no protest against the enslavement of war captives, which had been everywhere customary for thousands of years; the time was not yet ripe for so radical a change even to be thought of. Yet from the very beginning, the church always encouraged masters to set free their slaves as a deed of charity. The early Christians held military service to be wrong. When this teaching was later relaxed, the church forbade the killing of noncombatants and the refusal of quarter.

By insisting on free courtship and consent in marriage, and by its attitude toward infanticide and divorce, the church considerably improved the position of women. The honoring of Mary as the mother of Jesus has exalted motherhood. The honoring of women saints and

martyrs also contributed to the esteem given to women in Christendom. Of course the founders of the church had less advanced ideas concerning the position of women than we have today. Paul, for instance, wrote that they should be silent in the church, a tradition which, until lately, has excluded them from the pulpit.

We should remember that no one immediately realized the full implications of Jesus's message. For centuries most churchmen either lent their support to, or failed to denounce, slavery, torture, the persecution of witches and heretics, child labor, the exploitation of wage-earners, and war. The idea that these ancient institutions could be stamped out did not occur to the medieval mind. Social progress is a distinctly modern concept.

Christianity has always urged its followers to visit prisoners, care for the sick, and help the poor. Indeed, the lessening of suffering was long its principal social aim. Prevention of the conditions that cause suffering is a modern idea. The Friends or Quakers were the first Christian denomination to become active in social reform. They led the protest against Negro slavery. They campaigned against the harsh penal laws of England and the colonies. They practiced tolerance toward members of all other faiths. They have always firmly opposed war and military service. Few in numbers, they have, nevertheless, done much to arouse the conscience of other Christians.

Christians of all denominations were active in the eighteenth-century movement to suppress the slave trade and in the nineteenth-century struggle against slavery. This does not mean that most of the clergy or most of the church members were keenly interested in abolition. Many, indeed, were favorable to slavery and some even owned slaves. Yet abolition would scarcely have been accomplished without the example

and endeavor of those who regarded slavery as un-Christian.

In the nineteenth century the Christian Socialists secured numerous reforms in England and western Europe, looking to the improvement of the lot of working people. While the Socialist movement has dropped the word "Christian" from its name, many of its members regard Socialism as the attempt to apply Christianity to the industrial system. (But note that some Socialists regard Christianity and all religion as an evil thing that must be destroyed.)

The remarkable growth of social service organizations, such as settlement houses, family welfare societies, and hospitals, has been largely due to religious zeal. Those who have led in establishing these institutions and those who have supported them have practically always been religious men and women. It should be said in passing that, in proportion to their numbers, members of the Jewish faith have a still better record in giving to philanthropic projects than the Christians. Since ancient times the Hebrews have regarded charity as a fundamental duty. Mohammedanism, which is an offshoot of Judaism, has also a good record in works of charity.

Christendom has seen in nineteen centuries a remarkable change in the value placed upon a human life. On many fronts advance has been made toward human brotherhood. There is still far to go, but we are certainly on the way. Some would ascribe the whole gain to the Christian message. This is to ignore the contribution of science, industry, and political democracy, each of which has helped to improve human relations. Violence, slavery, and coercion do not work well in a highly organized and interdependent society, which cannot exist unless good will predominates. An industrial civilization needs a religion which emphasizes the responsibility of each man for his neighbor. For this

reason Christianity is being reinterpreted, with greater attention to its social message. It can be as truly said that civilization shapes religion as that religion shapes civilization. Both are constantly interacting.

Religion and Social Control. Religion, says the sociologist, is the search for high values. It upholds as right that conduct which the group considers essential to its welfare. This is believed to be the will of God.

It is sometimes said that if men did not believe in God there would be no morality. This is a misconception. Taboos, morals, and laws are first formulated by the group and then incorporated into their religion. They are enforced by social penalties ranging from strong disapproval to banishment, imprisonment, or death. Belief that God punishes wrongdoing is an additional motive for good behavior, especially as it is believed that nothing can be concealed from God. However, many modern preachers do not emphasize the idea that God punishes men, but rather that the evil deed carries its own penalty. The wrongdoer is at odds with society, divided in his mind, and out of harmony with the universe.

Religion makes two contributions to social control: (1) by defining the ideal, and (2) by showing how it should be applied.

The ideal, which religious men call God, is a developing concept. Once it was sensual pleasure, and at that time men thought that God could be pleased by gifts and burnt offerings. Later the ideal became justice, and God was thought to be stern, yet just. Still later, men saw that the highest value is love, and they conceived that God is love. At any period in history God exemplifies those human attributes which are thought to be most valuable. God symbolizes the ideal man. Thinking about God and trying to please him or to enter into communion with him powerfully affects conduct.

It is therefore the task of religious leaders to make clear the concept of God and to hold it constantly before the people.

The application of the ideal to concrete situations is apt to lag behind. By the time a moral code has been formulated, the conditions to which it was fitted may have changed. When capitalism was in its infancy, the economic virtues were individual responsibility, thrift, self-help, and unremitting toil. Today these seem inadequate to assure the welfare of a highly interdependent industrial society. Social responsibility, and the desire to distribute more evenly the risks, the labor, and the leisure that accompany the use of machinery on a large scale, seem more likely to promote the welfare of the group. Another moral code is gradually taking shape. In its shaping the churches of all denominations hope to have a part. To the extent that they mold public opinion, they are helping to determine which moral ideas shall prevail.

Modern Social Ideals of the Churches. Several inter-denominational conferences have drawn up codes expressing their ideals of social and economic justice. An example is the code formulated in 1932 by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, declaring that the churches stand for:

- I. Equal rights and justice for all men in all stations in life.
- II. Protection of the family by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, proper housing.
- III. The fullest possible development of every child, especially by the provision of education and recreation.
- IV. Abolition of child labor.
- V. Such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.
- VI. Abatement and prevention of poverty.

- VII. Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic, and moral waste of the liquor traffic.
- VIII. Conservation of health.
- IX. Protection of the workers from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases, and mortality.
- X. The right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, for the protection of the workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.
- XI. Suitable provision for the old age of the workers, and for those incapacitated by injury.
- XII. The right of employees and employers alike to organize, and for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.
- XIII. Release from employment one day in seven.
- XIV. Gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.
- XV. A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.
- XVI. A new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

To secure the application of these standards to concrete situations is no easy task, but otherwise they can have no effect. In persuading men to give them practical application the church can exercise a most important function.

The Nonreligious Functions of the Church. In the Middle Ages the church was the center around which all the activities of the community revolved. The saints' days, masques, miracle plays, pageants, music, and liturgy supplied nearly all the beauty and drama that the common people ever enjoyed. The recreational and artistic functions of the church were indispensable. In this

period, too, the church was practically the only source of alms for the needy and of aid to the sick and the fallen. There was no learning save that of the clergy; they were the only teachers.

Beginning late in the Middle Ages, other organizations gradually took from the church its exclusive control of political, educational, charitable, and recreational activities. In the growing towns the church lost functions which it continued to exercise in the villages. There are still many European and French Canadian villages where the church is the principal source of recreation and charity. In Russia, under the Czars, the church was the provider of whatever instruction, charitable aid, ceremony, and social pleasure the peasants ever knew. They had almost no joyous social activity apart from their church. Because of its extreme reactionary influence, its destruction was thought necessary to the success of the revolution, but its going left an emptiness in the villages which can hardly be imagined by those who have never been equally dependent on their church.

Both in city and country, American churches are trying to revive a portion of their ancient recreational, educational, and philanthropic functions. In every community, large or small, the church can help meet the urgent need for noncommercial recreations and for neighborhood activities; there is usually no other agency, unless it be the school, which is in a position to meet this need. Especially in rural areas, people look to the church for the promotion of social affairs. It is increasingly felt that the church should become, once again, the social center of the community.

Education, both of children and of adults, is a task which the church can ill afford to neglect. Parents are taking ever less responsibility for the religious training of their children. Since the public school cannot attempt



IN TIMES OF GREAT DISTRESS, OF BODY OR SPIRIT, RELIGION
RENEWS HOPE AND COURAGE AND STRENGTHENS THE WILL
TO ENDURE

religious education, this is left to the church. Secular education may or may not be regarded as a suitable task for the church. Protestant churches have largely surrendered this function, although in the cities they often conduct an adult educational program. The church has, indeed, always been an important agency for adult education, but today it is more consciously trying to help its members understand and attack the problems which confront them and society.

The Indispensable Function. The one indispensable function of the church, that which can be performed by no other agency, is worship. In worship men reach out for the ideal. They escape momentarily from their fears and negations and frustrations, and think more

calmly about their deepest needs. In the presence of the ideal, they purify and order their desires, discovering what it is that they want most. That which is less worthy they push from consciousness, renouncing it for the sake of the larger good. In worship men come to understand and to believe in their own highest values.

The psychiatrist says that worship helps to integrate (unify) the personality. Inner conflicts that divide the mind are resolved as the worshiper evaluates his competing allegiances (see pp. 67–68) and discovers which are most important. He gains faith that in the long run he cannot fail. In those personal crises in which submission is required, worship enables a man to submit. Religion has helped many individuals to pull themselves together and face the world again at a time when they seemed to be going to pieces. Few are the individuals who at no period in their lives turn to religion to restore a sense of meaning and purpose to their existence.

Since the earliest times, worship has helped to celebrate and to symbolize the great occasions and crises of life — birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Without solemn public rites these occasions would seem trivial, lacking in social, and therefore individual, significance. Their religious observance all through the ages has weighted them with dignity, endowing them with importance to the individual and to society. When one of these events ceases to be publicly observed, it immediately loses its meaning to the individual most concerned; witness our lack of interest in what is really a momentous event — puberty — the arrival at manhood and womanhood. Beyond any doubt, the frequency with which marriages are contracted in a hurried, informal visit to a public official, is both a cause and a result of the lightness with which some people view matrimony. Religious ceremonies at the burial of the dead have focused men's attention on the worth of the

individual, the preciousness of his life to him and his family. This in turn has fostered the desire to protect life and make it better. The reiteration at funerals of the belief that everyone will one day face a righteous Judge has also had a powerful socializing effect. It is difficult to imagine any substitute for the religious observance of birth, marriage, and death which could sufficiently dignify and socialize these events.

The Christian Church in the United States. In the United States, church property is tax-free, and the churches are exempt from interference by the government. Religious qualifications for voting and public office were abolished by most of the states a century or more ago.

There are about fifty-five million church members in the United States, including about ten million under thirteen years of age. About one third of these are Roman Catholics, and two thirds are Protestants. Women members are slightly more numerous than men; to every five women members there are four men members. While attendance is more faithful among rural church members, the percentage of church members is somewhat less in the country than in the city. Sunday schools have an enrollment of twenty-one million. Were the churches evenly distributed, there would be one church to every 344 persons in the United States.

There are nearly two hundred denominations, many of them small in numbers and influence. The two most numerous Protestant groups, the Methodists and Baptists, together have twenty million members. Each has about twenty subdivisions. Sectarianism has been greatly deplored in recent years, and in several instances two denominations have merged. It seems likely that other closely related denominations will recognize the advantage of combining, although we shall doubtless long continue to have too many weak divisions of the

church. Co-operation among the denominations has increased since 1908, when the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was organized. The Council represents Protestant denominations having about twenty million members.

The Church in Transition. The church, like other institutions, must adjust itself to a changing world. Once the church was more powerful than any other organization. During the second half of the Middle Ages it dominated politics, made and unmade kings, controlled the universities, and kept watch over the writings and research of scholars. The Revival of Learning came, fostering individualism, which is opposed to authority. Universities and scholars began to assert their independence. States grew stronger. Men were less willing to submit to the guidance of the clergy in nonreligious matters. Even in the field of religion the authority of the church was challenged.

Out of an effort to reform the church and correct certain abuses, the Protestant movement was born in the sixteenth century. Ever since, for various reasons, the power of organized religion has been on the wane. The growth of industry and of political organizations (states) has created areas of life which are wholly secular. Education, knowledge, recreation, and art have become secular. Even family relations are much less influenced by the church today than formerly. Every type of institution tends to become more specialized, so the church is losing whatever functions can be better performed by other agencies.

The church faces a period of reconstruction. Only as it serves present-day needs will it be able to continue. It is today greatly criticized, and many people have decided they can do without the church.

The Weaknesses of the Church. The church has often been charged with the following weaknesses: (These

charges are to be taken for whatever they may be worth.)

1. *Irrelevance.* It is said that the church tends to create an unreal world of its own, remote from the daily lives and cares of men. In the past it considered this life to be unimportant except as a preparation for life hereafter. As a result it turned men's attention from correcting evil conditions in society, and persuaded them that individual salvation was what chiefly mattered. Even today it seems to underemphasize the economic and social factors that affect conduct.

2. *Traditionalism.* It is claimed that organized religion is overwhelmingly conservative. It upholds the established order, and condemns those who agitate against it. The clergy, it is said, practically always identify themselves with the dominant social class, from whom, indeed, they frequently come, and upon whom their financial support depends. Because of this, it is said, they seldom take a keen interest in social reform.

3. *One-sidedness.* At some periods there has been too much concentration on details of ritual; at others, on the government of the churches. There have been periods and sects characterized by abnormal straining after holiness, shown in the desire to withdraw from the world and from earthly responsibilities. Certain sects have been so over-emotional that their worship has savored of hysterical indulgence, unfitting the participants for normal social behavior. Sometimes doctrine has received too much attention, fine points of belief being made the test of religion. Some sects have been unwilling to accept the teachings of science regarding the age of the earth and other matters clearly within the province of science.

4. *Inadequate leadership.* Only eighteen per cent of ministers in the United States are college graduates.

Of every eight white ministers, three have not graduated either from theological school or college. Of every four Negro ministers, three have not graduated from theological school or college. It is unreasonable to expect progressive leadership from clergymen of meager training. Those of little education are not aware of new trends; their conservatism and lack of vision are partly due to ignorance. For the conscious reshaping of morals, and the application of religious principles to new social situations, persons of fine gifts and unusual education are required. Those of mediocre ability and understanding are bewildered by social problems; they busy themselves with priestcraft, and the writing of sermons on other-worldly topics.

The Future of Organized Religion. It would be childish to conclude that because the church has faults it should be abandoned. All institutions are defective and must constantly be reshaped to fit changing conditions. The church has important functions to perform, some of which cannot be done by any other agency. It has a wealth of tradition and experience. What it most needs is progressive leadership. It must have a larger number of well-educated ministers, men who understand the daily problems of their parishioners, and have the courage and the vision to assist in solving those problems.

It seems clear that the church will fight a losing battle so long as it opposes science. Those denominations which have made over their doctrines in conformity with scientific knowledge have given up nothing that is really essential. The church should not claim authority outside its special province — the exploration of the spiritual life. Geology, astronomy, and biology are the province of science, not of religion. Here again the great need is for ministers of sound scholarship, who can restate religious truths in terms acceptable to men acquainted with science. The conflict between religion

and science is often in terminology and not in essential meanings. Sometimes it is due to inaccuracies in old translations of the Bible. It is significant that in city churches, which generally possess ministers of superior education, there is seldom much railing against scientific knowledge.

Other-worldliness both within and without the church is definitely on the wane. In recent years Protestant and Roman Catholic leaders alike have repeatedly expressed their keen interest in social and economic reconstruction. They have seen that "the good life which religion seeks has conditions, and many of the conditions are not in the keeping of the Church. They are social, economic, political, cultural; and the Church cannot be unconcerned about them."¹

Sectarianism is losing ground. As doctrine receives less attention, and as the churches increasingly devote themselves to promoting the good life, the differences between denominations will appear relatively insignificant. Already interdenominational worship is becoming common. Federated churches composed of several denominations are now not rare in small communities. In the large cities there is often found a community church, welcoming members of all creeds, nations, and races. Possibly this foreshadows the church of the future, where, united by a common belief in a universal God, the father of mankind, men of whatever religion will find it possible to worship together.

WORD STUDY

animism
creed
doctrine
dogma

monotheism
rite
sect

¹ Horace T. Houf, *What Religion Is and Does* (Harper and Brothers, 1935), p. 314.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What are the three parts of a religion? Illustrate.
2. What are the characteristics of magic? Illustrate.
3. What is animism? How are the spirits approached?
4. Name two ancient religious leaders who taught a monotheistic religion. Indicate their principal teachings.
5. Discuss the development of the Judaic religion.
6. Wherein did Hebrew religion and law excel that of neighboring peoples?
7. What did Jesus seek to add to the religion of the Jews?
8. What are the two world religions with the largest number of followers? How many followers has each?
9. State two valuable ideas regarding human relations which Christianity stresses more than do other religions.
10. State the attitude of the early church toward labor.
11. What did the early church contribute to the refinement of marriage?
12. Give the attitude of the early church toward slavery. Why do you think it did not condemn slavery altogether?
13. What functions of the medieval church have been taken over wholly or in part by other institutions?
14. How does a psychologist explain some of the values of worship?
15. Indicate reasons for the decline of the church since the Middle Ages.
16. What four weaknesses have been attributed to the church? Which of these weaknesses might be overcome by better preparation of ministers?
17. What changes already in evidence will be likely to strengthen the church?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Write a paper on how the concept of Jehovah grew. Book Six of *This Believing World*, by Lewis Browne, will be helpful.
2. Report on the work of the Federal Council of Churches of

Christ in America, considering chiefly the attempts to relate religion to modern social problems.

3. Report similarly on the work of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and that of the Central Conference of Jewish Rabbis.
4. Sketch the development of the church in terms of what it chiefly emphasized at various periods.
5. Review *The Return to Religion*, by Henry C. Link, in which a psychologist discusses his experiences in counseling people in difficulty.
6. What has been the influence of Christianity on the position of women?
7. What might be the result in the long run of omitting public rites at all burials?
8. What sociological value do you see in having religious ceremonies at solemn public occasions, such as the inauguration of the President and the opening of Congress?
9. Which statements in the social ideals formulated by the Federal Council of Churches do you think would probably not have been accepted by an interdenominational conference, had one been called, a century ago?
10. Which of the following subjects do you think should receive more stress in the education of a minister? Why?

Natural Science	Sociology	Ancient Languages
World History	Psychology	Theology
Foreign Languages	Religious Education	Literature
Psychiatry	Mathematics	Modern Problems

11. Write the story of Saint Francis of Assisi.

READINGS

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Browne, Lewis, *This Believing World*. Entertaining.

Brunner, Edmund de S., *Churches of Distinction in Town and Country*.

Conklin, Edmund S., *Psychology of Religious Adjustment*.

Elliott, H. S., *The Bearing of Psychology upon Religion*.

- Ellwood, Charles, *Man's Social Destiny*. Chapter VI, "The Future of Religion." *The Reconstruction of Religion*.
- Hartshorne, Hugh, *Character in Human Relations*.
- Houf, Horace T., *What Religion Is and Does*.
- Link, Henry, *The Return to Religion*.
- Lowie, Robert H., *Are We Civilized?* Chapter XX, "Religion."
- Niebuhr, Reinhold, *Does Civilization Need Religion?*
- Randall, John H., *The Unity of Religions*. Chapter I, "The Beginnings of Religion."

STORIES AND BIOGRAPHY

- Beck, L. Adams, *The Splendour of Asia; the Story and Teaching of Buddha*.
- Connelly, Marc, *Green Pastures*. A modern drama depicting the religion of the southern Negroes.
- Grierson, Elizabeth, *The Life of St. Paul for Young People*. The background for the rise of Christianity.
- Hunting, H. B., *Hebrew Life and Times*.
- Jewett, Sophie, *God's Troubadour*. The life of St. Francis of Assisi.
- Stoddard, William, *The Swordmaker's Son*. A story of the early Christians.
- Wallace, Lew, *Ben-Hur, or The Days of the Messiah*. A novel about the early Christians.

CHAPTER XVI

LEISURE — ITS POSSIBILITIES

Under what conditions can work also be recreation?

What are the tests of a good recreation?

Why do human beings delight in ceremonial?

Can we afford more public facilities for recreation?

WE ARE, if we could but grapple with our fate, the most fortunate of the generations of men. In a single lifetime science has given us more power over nature, and extended further the range of vision of the exploring mind, than in all recorded history. Now, and now only, our material resources, technical knowledge, and industrial skill are enough to afford to every man of the world's teeming population, physical comfort, adequate leisure, and access to everything in our rich heritage of civilization that he has the personal quality to enjoy.

SIR ARTHUR SALTER

The Qualities of Leisure and the Tests of a Recreation

What Is Leisure? Leisure is that time in which we are free from drudgery and from all other activities not of our own choosing. During leisure we are released from our set tasks and duties, and may do things for no other purpose than the pleasure of doing. Leisure is unhurried. It is a spiritual state — a mood of freedom and joyousness.

Some individuals so love their work that they would do it in preference to anything else. Because they find it always interesting, and because it is the way they choose to spend their time, it is leisure. The artist, the scientist, the scholar, are thus privileged beyond other men. They are busy with their own highest pursuits. Whatever interrupts their work may actually rob them of leisure.

At the other extreme are many whose work is excessively monotonous, or disagreeable, or nerve-wracking. They loathe it and endure it only as a means to earn a living. Time spent under these circumstances is stolen out of life. Only when the workday is over do these individuals begin to enjoy themselves. Jaded and fatigued, they are apt to seek release from tension in some crude excitement which leaves them still more exhausted and nerve-worn. Drink, drugs, and vice may be the escapes of those whose work is all drudgery.

Leisure in Primitive Culture. In a primitive society work and leisure are hardly to be told apart. This is true in spite of the drudgery and danger and exposure involved. The necessary tasks are shared by all. Talk, laughter, song, magic rites, and labor are intermingled. From hour to hour, day to day, season to season, the work changes. There is no hurry, no deadening monotony, no enforced silence. Besides, the primitive uses his mind and his body together; he is a whole man engaged in a co-operative activity, the success or failure of which genuinely concerns him. The sense of sharing, the lack of coercion, the variety and the sociability of primitive labor make it satisfying in itself, give it the nature of leisure.

The amusements of primitive people rise spontaneously from their everyday activities. The building of a canoe is a ceremony in which many hands participate. There is plenty of time to do the work beautifully and gaily. The initiation of the young men is an occasion for games and dances, serious in purpose yet full of emotional satisfaction to the participants. The hunts, the fishing, the planting, and other events are shot through with magico-religious observances. Religion, play, art, and work are all one. When this is so, the individual is not torn by inner conflicts, as are so many in our society. No part of his life seems to him meaningless.

What Is Recreation? Those diversions with which men fill their leisure time are known as recreation. For the majority of modern men and women, recreation and work are sharply separated. They turn to recreation for that variety, excitement, sociability, and self-expression denied by their daily tasks; in short, they seek re-creation.

Whatever is interesting and joyful to the doer is to him a recreation. The very task which one man hates may be a recreation for someone else. Recreation must represent one's own free choice; otherwise it will lack both freedom and joy. The person who knows the greatest number of ways of spending his leisure has, of course, the widest choice.

Not everyone knows how to find true recreation in his leisure hours. Release from work may mean only that one turns to other tiresome pursuits, perhaps those dictated by the ceaseless endeavor to keep up with the neighbors, or those most advertised by profit-seekers.

Four Tests of a Good Recreation. In our leisure we want relaxation, freedom, and happiness. These can be had only by the individual who chooses his recreation intelligently. There are four characteristics of a good recreation.

1. *It is satisfying to the doer in and of itself.* He has not selected it solely because it is fashionable or because it will improve his social status or his business prospects.

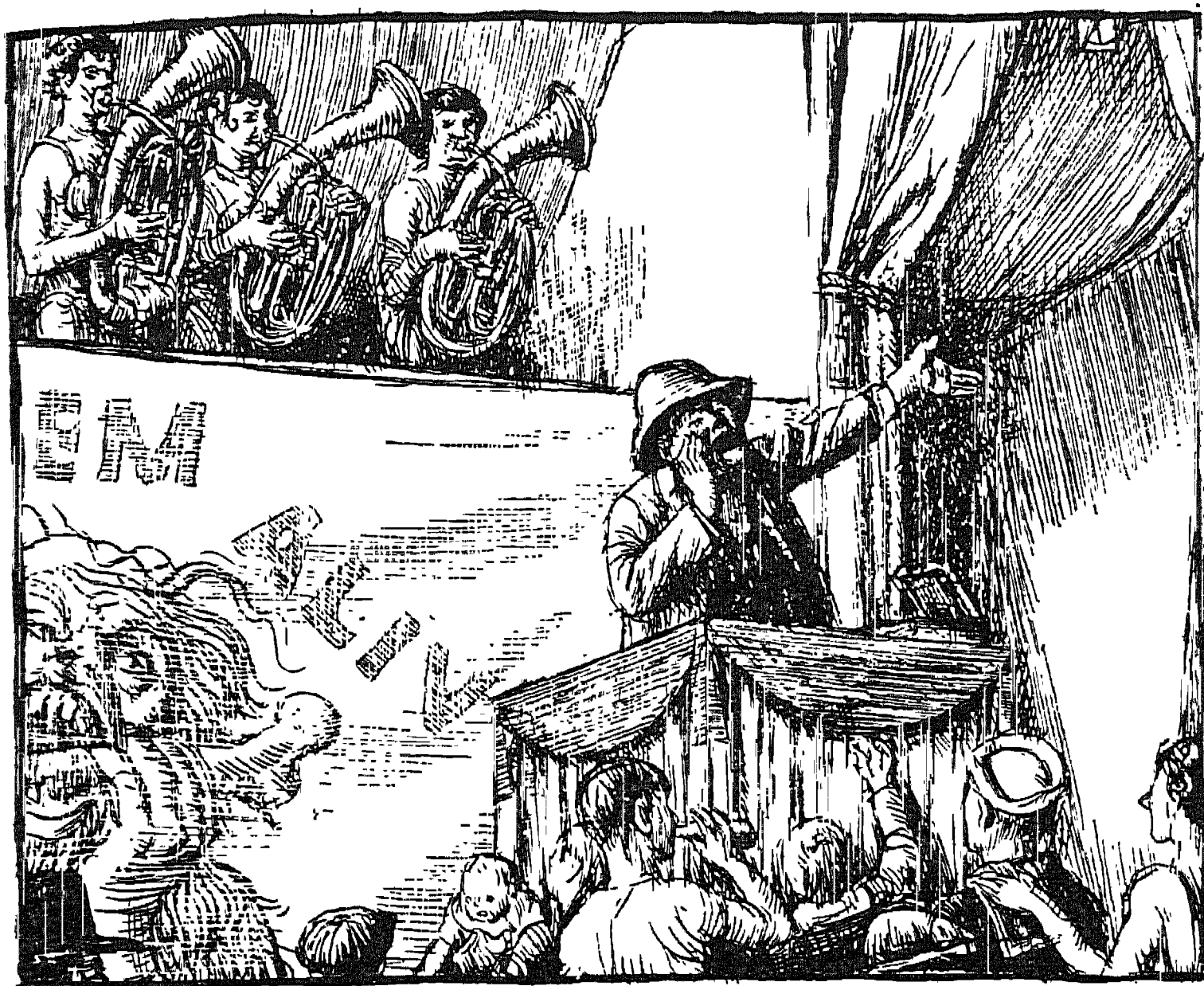
2. *It differs from the activities and mental states which are forced upon the individual during his work.* The manual laborer, for instance, enjoys a chance to dress up and be free from physical exertion. The professional man often longs for a chance to wear old clothes and to "rough it" in the woods. Those whose work keeps them all day long at a desk crave exercise. The housewife wants to get out of the house to mix with people;

her businessman husband perhaps wants nothing so much as to sit quietly at home after the confusion and strain of a whole day of meeting people.

3. *It should be of relatively permanent interest to the doer.* Those recreations which quickly lose their appeal can afford little or no satisfaction. The best recreations generally gain more interest the longer one pursues them. The music lover, the stamp collector, the reader of good books, will not soon tire of their avocations or hobbies. The ideal activity in this respect is one that is not quickly and easily mastered, that permits of endless development.

4. *It should promote the physical, mental, and social well-being of the doer.* Strain, tension, boredom, brain-fag, irritability, that fatigue which is nervous in origin — all should disappear during the recreation, leaving the individual relaxed, at peace with himself and the world. Moderate physical tiredness, as after vigorous sport, is a healthy state. Those whose work provides little physical exercise are likely to feel at the end of the day a painful kind of fatigue shown in jangled nerves and restless nights. Suitable recreation causes this to vanish. For that numerous company who today suffer from neurasthenia good recreation may offer the best hope of cure. (See p. 129.)

Some Common Faults of Commercial Amusements. Many modern recreations have been thoroughly commercialized; consequently they are conducted less to meet the genuine needs of men than to produce the maximum profit. In order to accommodate a large number of patrons in a small place, entertainment is usually substituted for participation. Now, a limited amount of good entertainment is needed by everyone, but the profit-seeking vendor of entertainment considers, as a rule, only what will most easily attract the throng. To draw the biggest attendance with the least



THE BIG NOISE, AND EMPTY HEADS — "RIGHT THIS WAY!"

expenditure of thought and money, he may rely on crude forms of sex appeal and other physical "thrills." He is little concerned with intellectual, moral, or aesthetic values. Too often greed, gambling, and vice are decked out as play, with no thought as to the effect on the patron and on society.

On the whole, commercial amusement is not so much positively evil as it is empty, vulgar, or unsatisfying. The tawdry pastimes of the amusement park and the midway at the fair merely waste the money and leisure of their patrons without giving them happiness or inspiration. The most popular of all commercial recreations, the cinema, is of very uneven quality. Excellent as are a few films, the ordinary film is only an escape from reality, an imaginary experience of luxury, romance, and adventure. By stimulating desires that cannot

possibly be fulfilled, and by emphasizing inferior life-values, it is apt to increase the maladjustment of the spectator.

Planning One's Leisure. With such a variety of good, poor, and indifferent recreations to choose from, the thoughtless person may fail to make the most of his leisure. A small part of one's leisure may well be spent in being entertained, as at an athletic event or an excellent cinema or theatrical production. Some of it, doubtless, should be idled away in daydreaming, lounging, unhurried bathing and dressing, and the care of one's belongings. But the largest return comes from active participation in some thoroughly interesting pursuit. One should not, of course, be limited to a single kind of recreation, but should learn a variety of ways for spending spare hours happily. Lack of experience and information restrict one's choice. Youth is the time to try every possible avenue to fuller living.

Types of Desirable Recreation

The Arts. Men have always spent much of their leisure in creating beautiful things and beautiful experiences. The organism craves blended sense impressions — harmonious sensations of sight, hearing, smell, touch, taste — and these it is the function of art to supply.

To take a homely illustration, a number of unattractive leftovers can be transformed into a delectable meat pie. The skillful blending of flavors, the contrast of textures and colors secured by adding a crust, the symmetrical arrangement of the pie in a dish, constitute an example of culinary art. The food value of the pie is no greater than that possessed by its separate ingredients, and if men ate only to allay the pangs of hunger, there would be no object in taking the trouble to make pie. But we all know that food can be pleasing to the mind

and to the emotions. It is the purpose of culinary art to make food minister to the *whole* man. Similarly, the eating of a meal can be accomplished in a few greedy gulps, or it can be made, by the use of artistic table setting and dainty manners, a beautiful ceremony.

Why do we spend so much time upon our dress, when two or three coarse garments would serve the physical man quite as well? The answer is that human beings are never content with anything or any experience that is without design, order, and harmony. Our clothes must excite and satisfy the emotions; therefore we lavish endless pains upon their form, their color, their fit, and their becomingness. In the same way we long to make our surroundings beautiful. We choose and arrange our furniture that the colors and forms may produce a *blended* impression.

Always and everywhere human beings have sought to harmonize and to intensify the stimulations that play upon their senses. The perception — awareness — of this harmony is known as the *aesthetic experience*. Its creator, whether his materials are humble or magnificent, is an *artist*. The artistic impulse seems to be present in every human individual. How it shall be expressed depends upon the existing state of culture. By accident certain patterns of artistic expression develop in a culture area and are then followed by succeeding generations. The Chinese child is early conditioned to the characteristics of Chinese music; his musical ability will be expressed in the style of his ancestors. The Chinese girl will learn to create beautiful embroideries in the ancestral manner; in these rather than in Persian rugs or French tapestries will she express her artistic impulses. As a culture advances it discovers ever more varied and delicate art forms. Many of these require such skill and ability that only specialists may produce them.

The pre-machine-age craftsman, whether he works in cheap or in costly materials, whether he makes objects of everyday utility or objects of adornment and luxury, lavishes pains upon his handiwork. He tries to make it beautiful. Insofar as he succeeds, he is an artist. The handmade dishes, vases, lamps, furniture, and textiles in our museums were made for common use by the craftsmen of the ancient and medieval world. Their unhurried, loving labor exemplified the true spirit of leisure. Because we no longer work in this spirit, we impatiently await the end of our workday, when at last we are free to create or to experience the beautiful.

Increasingly our people are turning in their leisure to various forms of "arts and crafts." The phrase is badly chosen. All handwork is, or should be, art. It is the tragic error of a machine civilization to suppose that art is detached from everyday life. To make people artists in their leisure hours is to restore to them a part of the most precious experience of the race. Probably those who have tasted for themselves the joy of this experience will be more discontented than ever with work that denies the artistic impulse.

There is no area of human experience which cannot be made more orderly, harmonious, and emotionally satisfying; this means that art should permeate the entire culture, and will eventually do so. At present we find that art (crafts as well as the so-called "fine arts") is most developed in the following fields:

- (1) Architecture and landscaping
- (2) Painting, drawing, sculpture, and other plastic arts
- (3) Design applied to objects of utility, adornment, and luxury
- (4) Music
- (5) Literature and poetry
- (6) Drama and dancing
- (7) Printing, illustrating, and other graphic arts

In these fields we find the choicest cultural products of the ages. Our task is to diffuse these as widely as possible, that they may become a vital heritage to every person. The best way to do this is to provide opportunities everywhere for young and old to become skilled in the arts. Our schools are gradually giving more and more time to the various arts. The adult education movement provides instruction in the arts. Little theaters, community orchestras, choral societies, camera clubs, and the like are doing the most necessary thing of all — enabling people to participate as amateurs in artistic production.

The arts admirably meet the tests of a good recreation. First, they may be pursued for their own sakes, without straining after recognition or financial reward. Second, they are a restful change from the specialization, and often the ugliness, forced upon many of us by our daily work. Third, they are permanently interesting, since there is always something more to learn, some new level of appreciation and self-expression toward which to strive. Fourth, they minister to all-round well-being and personality development. They afford release, escape, and relaxation — the very essence of leisure.

Hobbies. Throughout the United States millions are pursuing hobbies. Stamp collecting is probably the favorite. At least a million Americans have sizable stamp collections. Thousands collect old coins, rare books, antique furniture, prints, laces, insects, or plant specimens. Gardening, and the raising of dogs, birds, and tropical fish, are popular hobbies. Any of the arts, persistently followed for fun, may be considered a hobby. The making of models is one of the most interesting. The sciences, too, lend themselves to the hobbyist. Astronomy, chemistry, and nature study have thousands of enthusiastic followers.

Young and old, rich and poor, are numbered among

hobbyists. There is room for at least one hobby in everyone's life. The hobby may give joyous expression to a special ability or interest which might otherwise have no outlet. It may bring recognition and response from others with the same pursuit. Hobby clubs are now very common. Some of them are national in scope, thus linking enthusiasts who in earlier times might have had to follow their hobbies alone. The hobbyist never lacks for something to do. Often his hobby proves to be a continuously developing enthusiasm. Neither the desire for prestige nor for profit should determine the choice of a hobby. Its recreative value depends on whether it is truly interesting to the person who pursues it.

Sports. Active participation in sports is one of the most perfect recreations. For the young there are strenuous sports; for the old there are gentle ones like croquet. In the past sport has been the privilege chiefly of young men. Now many sports are open to women and to the middle-aged. Today millions play whose parents only watched others play. High schools and colleges which not long ago were content to have a few highly trained athletes now seek to have all their students participate.

Games which can be played by adults without much training are receiving more attention. The ten fastest growing sports are of this character. They are: softball, badminton, soccer, squash, archery, horseback riding, Ping-pong, trap shooting, horseshoe pitching, and tennis. The trend is definitely toward participation and away from mere watching.

Fishing, hunting, and camping grow steadily more popular. They appeal to city dwellers seeking escape from noise, dirt, regimentation, and crowds. The opening of public camp sites, the stocking of streams, and the breeding and conservation of game by state and

federal governments is helping to meet this recreational need.

Travel. There are two kinds of travel, that which has a destination, and that which is merely motion. The second, so common among motorists, offers little genuine satisfaction. Travel along a scenic highway, to a picnic ground, a beach, or to some point of historic or aesthetic interest, is more truly re-creative. What we chiefly want from travel is new experience.

In Europe young people travel a great deal on bicycles and on foot, generally in a group with a competent leader. Numerous inexpensive sleeping quarters and camp grounds have been prepared for their use. Often their journeys occupy an entire vacation from school or university. An organization has lately been formed to promote this type of travel in America.

Every year millions visit our beautiful national parks. The tourist camps in all parts of the country, and the rapidly growing number of automobiles equipped with a shelter-trailer, are proof of the importance of travel among American recreations.

To avoid disappointments and unnecessary expense, a trip of any kind must be carefully planned in advance. Unless it is well within one's means, it will be marred by financial worry. Again, for most travelers the happiness of the experience depends on congenial companionship. Only those of excellent mental and physical health, who can laugh at every discomfort and annoyance, are pleasant traveling companions.

Because of the clever advertising of foreign tours, most people imagine that it is necessary to go thousands of miles from home to secure the benefits of travel. Actually, a well-planned trip to the foreign section of a great city, with a meal at a foreign restaurant, and attendance at a foreign church or entertainment, can be a very rewarding travel adventure. In New York

City Saturday Reconciliation trips, conducted by experienced leaders, are popular with students. Each trip is planned around a theme, such as "Centers of Oriental Religion," "New Year's Day in Chinatown," "Germany in New York." The fee, usually a dollar, covers an afternoon and evening packed with new experience.

Social Ceremonial. From the earliest times men have used part of their leisure in ceremonial. This might be a magic or religious rite, a game, a folk dance, or a form of hospitality. Ceremonial arises from the effort to make social relations aesthetic. Order, balance, and harmony characterize the ceremony. The attempt is made, as in the other arts, to blend and intensify the sensations of those taking part. For this reason rhythm and music are introduced wherever possible. We all know how much pleasure children take in a singing game such as "London Bridge." The rhythm of the folk dance is often emphasized by clapping and stamping, in addition to the musical accompaniment.

Religious rituals reached probably their highest development in the Greek Orthodox Church. The richly decorated interior, the polyphonic music, the exquisite vestments, the candles, the incense, the harmonious movements of the priests, the solemnity, combine in an overwhelming appeal to the emotions. Secular (non-religious) ceremonies are built up from much the same elements, whether the occasion is a formal dance or just a tea party. Every successful hostess is an artist, creating an aesthetic experience for her guests. She makes the setting as attractive as possible, enhancing it with flowers, soft lights, her best silver and linen, and perhaps an open fire. The refreshments are designed to appeal to the eye quite as much as to the palate. The beautiful clothes of those present contribute to the total effect. Charming manners, of course, are an essential part of the whole ceremony.

As culture advances, social relations tend to become more ceremonious. Cultivated people observe ceremony even in their homes — that is, they practice good manners. One reason for questioning whether the machine age has contributed to genuine cultural progress is the prevalence of bad manners among us. A great many people today are so badly adjusted that their relationships with others are ugly. Those who have observed the gentle ways of East-European peasants toward their children and relatives are struck by contrast with the disagreeableness into which Americans, especially city dwellers, easily lapse. This is another sign of our lack of the true spirit of leisure. Overcrowding, insecurity, fatigue, noise, nerve strain, and the other evils of our civilization are pointedly opposed to leisure.

Reading and Study. More than ever before, people are using their spare hours to read and to study. Reading is an easy, inexpensive recreation. It requires no special skill, and it is near at hand. Through the printed word one may have companionship with the great, may range over the entire world, and over all history. Reading, intelligently selected, has for some all the characteristics of a good recreation.

Many people find in reading nothing but an escape from reality. Because they are searching for escape, they care only for sensational newspapers and highly improbable fiction. Like the average moving picture, this sort of reading may be de-creative. It is apt to increase the discontent, the nerve strain, the sense of inadequacy of the reader. Moreover, material of this type lacks permanent interest. People often continue to read it out of habit or because they haven't anything else to do. They might be much better satisfied if they would learn to enjoy books of higher quality. However, imaginary experience, even in great books, is only a partial substitute for genuine social activity. The per-

son who spends all his leisure in reading has withdrawn into a world of his own.

Study can be a recreation; often it is only another kind of task which we impose upon ourselves in hopes of getting ahead. One might study radio mechanics for sheer pleasure, looking forward, perhaps, to building an amateur short-wave station. But if the purpose is to get a job, the study is hardly a recreation. The advertisements of correspondence schools never stress the recreative value of study for its own sake. Rather they emphasize financial values and prestige values. They encourage people to learn French, for instance, in order to impress the boss or the headwaiter. Those who study with such a motive are likely to miss the pleasure that comes with deepened appreciation. Happily, many adults are today studying the arts just because they want to make beautiful things. The most recreative learning of all is the actual production of something beautiful, be it music, a play, a dress, a basket, or a painting.

Politics and Social Service. A few people have learned to enjoy participation in politics or in some other kind of community service. Politics has long been the hobby of the English gentleman, to the great benefit of the entire country. The United States might be far better governed if civic affairs were less generally left to the professional politicians. Our school boards, of course, illustrate the amateur spirit in government. We need more volunteer public service of all kinds. While it is somewhat arduous, considered as a form of recreation, to some it may be more satisfying than many of the recreations approved by fashion.

Two Studies of Leisure Habits

A Suburban Study of Leisure. To find out how Americans actually spend their leisure, a study was made in

1933 in Westchester County, a prosperous suburban area close to New York City. A diary was kept by 2,460 persons showing the way they spent their time during one or more typical days. A total of 4,460 days was recorded by the group. Leisure was defined as time not devoted to sleep, work, transportation, and care of self; time spent in eating was considered leisure. The average member of the group had seven hours of leisure every day. More of this came on Saturday and Sunday than on the other days of the week. The housewives had more leisure than any other group except the unemployed. Gainfully employed women had the least leisure. Omitting housewives, gainfully employed women, and unemployed, the difference in leisure enjoyed by any two other groups was less than one hour a day. The amount of leisure possessed by each group is shown in the table below:

AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOURS A DAY ¹

<i>Devoted to Non-leisure Activities</i>			<i>Left for Leisure</i>	
<i>Group</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Labor	17.2	18.4	6.8	5.6
White Collar	16.7	17.4	7.3	6.6
Professional or executive .	17.2	...	6.8	..
Housewives	14.7	..	9.3
College Students	17.2	...	6.8	..
High School Students	16.6	16.6	7.4	7.4
Unemployed	14.2	15.7	9.8	8.3
All	16.6	16.8	7.4	7.2

Ninety per cent or more of the leisure of all the groups studied was divided between seven activities:

Eating was the most stable single item. It occupied on the average one and three fourths hours a day.

¹ Reproduced from Lundberg, Komarovsky, and McInerny: *Leisure; A Suburban Study*, by permission of Columbia University Press.

Visiting was next in importance, averaging one and one half hours a day. Under this heading were included cards, dancing, visiting with friends, neighbors, or members of the family, and meals when one was a guest or when one had guests. Casual chat with friends and family predominated in this item.

Reading occupied an average of fifty-seven minutes a day. Most of the reading done by students was connected with their school work, and was therefore listed under "non-leisure activities."

Public entertainment varied considerably from group to group, but in most cases fell in fourth place. This refers to passive entertainment at public places, that is, to attendance as a *spectator* at sports, movies, concerts, lectures, museums, and the like. On the average each person spent forty-two minutes a day in this manner.

Active participation in sports averaged thirty-nine minutes a day. However, only sixty per cent of the persons studied participated in sports during the days they kept the diary. Similar surveys elsewhere do not reveal so many participants in sports, nor so many minutes a day spent by the average person in active participation in the sports. It should be remembered that a considerable number of the persons who kept diaries were high school and college students. Moreover, Westchester County maintains an unusually large number of public playfields, tennis courts, golf courses, and bathing beaches. These two facts explain the favorable showing in regard to sports.

Listening to the radio occupied thirty-four minutes a day. This represents time devoted wholly or chiefly to listening, but not that time when the radio was merely incidental to reading, eating, or visiting.

Motoring for pleasure averaged fifteen minutes a day. The remaining ten per cent of leisure was divided among

miscellaneous activities such as church going, writing letters and telephoning for pleasure, idling, and participation in the fine arts and crafts.

From this study we may conclude that half the total leisure of Westchester people is spent in eating and visiting. This simple, informal association centers largely in the home. If to these recreations be added reading and listening to the radio, nearly seventy per cent of the total leisure of the group is accounted for. These four activities (excepting a small amount of card-playing, dancing, and entertaining that was included under "visiting") are inexpensive, quiet or passive, and afford little or no new experience. The question naturally arises whether most of these people were satisfied with the way they spent their leisure. Did some of them long to spend more time in active participation, in more adventurous activities that afford a greater contrast to their work? As no attempt was made to answer this question for Westchester County, we shall look briefly at another leisure-time study, also made in 1933.

The Leisure Hours of 5,002 City People. The National Recreation Association distributed a questionnaire in twenty-nine cities of various sizes, nearly all of them located east of the Mississippi River. The people who filled out the questionnaire were principally adults of small or moderate income, most of them employed or else occupied with housework. Some were unemployed. On a list of eighty-four leisure-time pursuits, they were asked to check (1) those in which they had taken part during the previous year, (2) those in which they had often taken part, and (3) those in which they would like to take part often but either had missed entirely or had enjoyed infrequently. The results are of much significance.

The ten activities in which the most people had taken

part are given below in order of rank. The numbers in parentheses refer to the order of rank of those items checked as having been *often* enjoyed. "Attending the movies" was third on the list of recreations in which the writers had taken part during the previous year; it was eighth on the list of recreations in which the writers had *often* taken part.

1. Reading newspapers and magazines (1)
2. Listening to the radio (2)
3. Attending the movies (8)
4. Visiting or entertaining others (7)
5. Reading books — fiction (3)
6. Auto riding for pleasure (6)
7. Swimming (9)
8. Writing letters (10)
9. Reading books — non-fiction (5)
10. Conversation (4)

Notice that the ten commonest leisure activities are for the most part carried on in the home, are inexpensive, quiet or passive, and individual rather than social. Swimming is the only item involving physical or outdoor activity. Only three items are sociable in nature. On the list of the ten activities often enjoyed, attending the movies and swimming are close to the bottom, clearly because of their expense. Visiting and entertaining, once so common, rank seventh, probably due to the cramped dwellings of city folk. Except for reading and swimming, the ten principal recreations of these people do not depend on community facilities. On the entire list of eighty-four activities those involving music, art, and drama, and most games, sports, and outings, ranked low. In other words, the recreations considered to be most valuable are seldom enjoyed by these 5,002 adults.

The list of unsatisfied leisure desires shows how greatly these people want active out-of-door recreations.

The ten unmet needs that were most often checked are:

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Playing tennis | 6. Caring for a flower garden |
| 2. Swimming | 7. Playing a musical instrument |
| 3. Boating | 8. Auto riding for pleasure |
| 4. Playing golf | 9. Attending the legitimate theater |
| 5. Camping | 10. Ice skating |

All but one of these are carried on away from home. All but three involve strenuous physical exercise. All involve expense for facilities, equipment, or admission. Most of these needs can only be met through community effort; public or private agencies must provide the facilities.

The Growth of the Recreation Movement

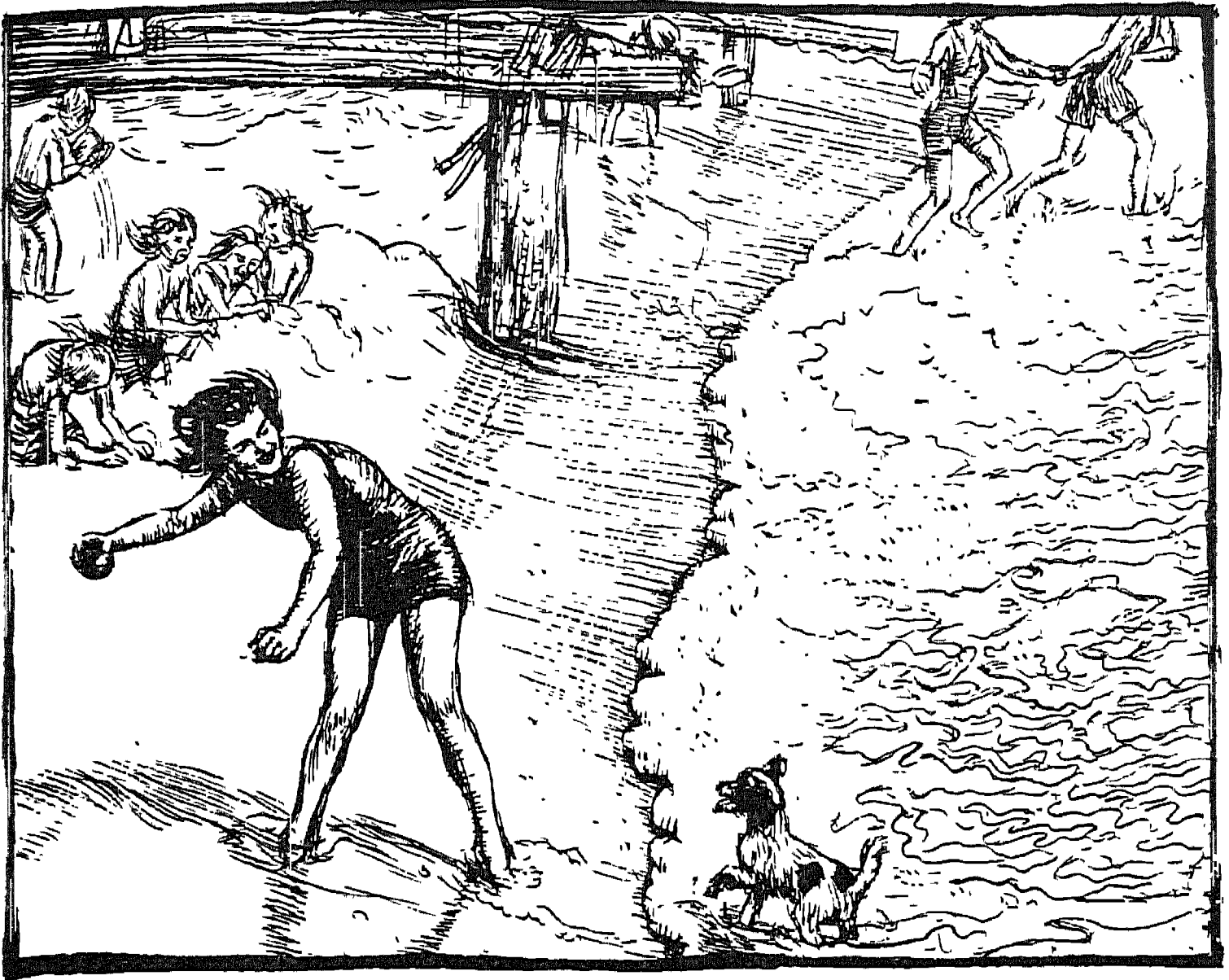
The Puritan Attitude toward Pleasure. Although the urge for fun has always directed no small part of human activity, fun received very little encouragement after the Industrial Revolution. Adult play was, in fact, practically forbidden wherever Puritanism was dominant. Most colonies had blue laws intended to stifle any "useless" activity. In the homes of Scotch Presbyterians and New England Puritans even children were not expected to spend their time in wanton idleness. The notion that play is bad or useless is still held by some.

The Playground Movement. For a long time parks were made only to be looked at. Most colonial towns had a common, and some of these survive today, mere squares of lawn and shrubbery, often lacking even a bench to sit on. Beginning about 1850 there was a considerable development of city, state, and national parks, but only since 1900 have playgrounds, playfields, camping places, and other recreational features been added to them. As late as 1930 only one in ten of the park areas of the United States was designed for active recreational use.

The beginning of the playground movement may be taken as 1885, when a sand garden for little children was opened in Boston. The idea soon spread to other New England cities. Then swings, teeterboards, and slides began to be added. It was soon discovered that each playground must have an adult leader. These early playgrounds were used only in the summer and were intended for youngsters. They were maintained by settlement houses, churches, private schools, and social welfare organizations. They were actually an offshoot of the kindergarten movement, which began about the same time. Kindergarten leaders declared that play is part of education; that the child cannot develop fully without it. This doctrine was to prepare the way for a new attitude toward recreation. At first its influence was felt only in big cities.

Before 1900 eight large cities had public playgrounds. By 1910 one hundred and fifty cities, and in 1930 over seven hundred cities, had public playgrounds. Yet three fourths of all American cities, most of them of small size, were without public playgrounds in 1930. There is still less than one playground for every 3,000 urban children. Nearly five sixths of all American children are without playgrounds. Only one in five playgrounds is operated the year round. Even in regions of mild winters many of them operate only during school vacations. The activities offered on playgrounds have gradually become more varied, and are now often planned for older children and adults as well as for little ones. Some of the most popular playground attractions are arts and crafts, folk dancing, social dancing, nature study, community singing, band concerts, pageants, and plays.

Since the World War many school playgrounds have been established. New school buildings are now often located in the midst of several acres of play space.



FOR ALL AGES RECREATION IS A PART OF
NORMAL HEALTHY LIFE

Most old school buildings, however, have only small yards entirely inadequate for active play. Although indoor play space for use in bad weather is now believed by educators to be essential, half of the city schools of the United States are without either playrooms or gymnasiums.

Playgrounds for Adults. Meanwhile, many of those cities which first recognized the play needs of children have begun to provide recreation for adults. Municipal golf courses have increased from twenty-four in 1910 to 378 in 1937. In 1937 there were over eleven thousand public tennis courts. Upon municipal waterfronts, formerly regarded as valuable only for industrial and commercial purposes, there are now nearly six hundred public bathing beaches. By 1937 there were also nearly twelve hundred public swimming pools. The last few

years have seen a gratifying increase in all sorts of play areas. The use of county, state, and national forests for picnics and camping has been gaining rapidly. Each year about ten million visitors enjoy recreation in the national forests. However, the great majority of adults are not yet within reach of any public place designed for active recreation. Where public golf courses, tennis courts, and bathing beaches are available, they are generally filled to capacity. In small cities and in rural sections there is seldom any public provision for adult play, or even for children's play.

Why Should the Community Provide Recreation? The arguments most often given in favor of public playgrounds for children are strictly *utilitarian*. To provide places for play for its own sake is not regarded as a sufficient reason for spending taxes. Apparently those who are to be convinced by these arguments are taxpayers reared in the Puritan tradition!

Play opportunities will, it is said:

1. Reduce juvenile delinquency. George W. Wickersham, Chairman of President Hoover's Commission on Law Enforcement, said, "One hundred thousand dollars invested in a children's playground in one of our cities is far more remunerative than one million dollars expended in building a prison or a reformatory." From a thousand children dwelling in overcrowded slum districts come many times more delinquents than from a thousand children living in the suburbs. Lack of room for play is certainly one factor in this situation.

2. Promote health. Vigorous play, especially out of doors, is essential to normal physical development.

3. Prevent many street accidents. In 1930, 5,110 children under 15 were killed and 200,000 were injured in motor vehicle accidents. Many of these children were struck while playing on the streets.

4. Develop alertness in group situations. Games give practice in social give-and-take.

5. Build character. Well-supervised play fosters self-

reliance, honesty, courage, co-operativeness, and a sense of responsibility to the group. Good sportsmanship — that virtue so highly prized by Anglo-Saxons — is developed by sport.

Evidently the time has not yet come to advocate public recreation, even for children, for its primary value — happiness. Recreation is still regarded as a luxury, not having a serious claim in its own right for a share of government monies. During the recent depression, appropriations for this purpose were drastically cut, although the need for public recreation had never been so grave.

Recreation Is Necessary. Recreation is not a luxury. For all ages and conditions of men it is a part of normal, healthy life. The need for recreation is as natural as that for sun and air, for food and water. Until satisfied, it causes the same restless craving of the organism — a tension which must be discharged somehow in poor ways or in good. The good ways are those which bring the most permanent satisfaction — such diversions as active sport, camping, touring, social and religious ceremonial, and the arts. The poor ways are revealed in nervousness, social maladjustment, and misconduct. The more time that people have for recreation, the more necessary it is that they should be able to use it constructively. Otherwise their restlessness and discontent can only lead to increased mental disease. Boredom is now considered a factor in many breakdowns.

The monotony of the modern job makes recreation more important than ever. At the same time the extreme mobility of modern workers — their frequent moving in quest of work — and the crowded conditions under which they live, have disrupted the traditional recreations of the family, the church, and the neighborhood. These joyous social activities have almost disappeared from the lives of most of the common people.

Instead they occupy their leisure time passively, monotonously, individually, at home, or at cheap commercial amusements. The active, social recreations they most need and desire must be provided by the community; the individual cannot provide them for himself.

Methods of Financing Municipal Recreation. In many cities the appropriation for recreation comes from the general tax fund. In others there is a special tax levy for recreation. Occasionally the cost of establishing a park is met by a "benefit tax" on near-by property. Since all property in the vicinity will yield a higher rent because of the park, this seems a just method of distributing the cost. When this is not done the property owners near the park receive a large unearned profit.

The cost of maintaining parks is, in many cities, partly met by the sale of concessions. Persons wishing to operate a dance hall, sell refreshments, or conduct some other business in the park are required to pay a fee for the privilege. In some cases the park authorities themselves operate the concessions. Those operated in 1930 at Playland and Rye Beach by the Westchester County Park Commission yielded a net income of \$41,000. The Division of Parks and Recreations in St. Louis, Missouri, operates seven refreshment rooms. These gave a net profit in the year ending April 1, 1931, of \$18,482. The Minneapolis Board of Park Commissioners operates fifty concessions. Some of these are for the sale of refreshments, others for the renting of equipment, for the sale of small items such as skate straps, and for the checking of belongings. The net earnings in 1929 were \$45,130.

The Fee System. Fees are often charged for the use of some of the more expensive and specialized recreational facilities. Municipal bath houses and swimming pools practically always require a small fee. In some cases the cost of building a pool has been met within a

few years from the fees paid by users. Three fourths of municipal golf courses are self-sustaining, and forty per cent show a profit, although the fee of twenty-five to fifty cents a round is only a fraction of that charged on commercial courses. There is frequently a fee for the use of a tourist camp, a bathing beach, a boat, and for play at a bowling alley. Generally there is a charge for instruction in handicrafts and sports, and for the services of a referee, timekeeper, or umpire at an athletic contest. Some cities charge admission to public lectures, concerts, plays, and sport contests. The idea is that those enjoying relatively expensive services should meet part or all of their cost.

If the charging of a moderate fee will enable a city to provide recreational services which otherwise would not be available to its citizens, then the practice is justifiable. Unfortunately, even a small fee will exclude many from the benefits of participation. Moreover, it is difficult to draw a line between recreations for which a fee should be charged and those which should be free. If a bathing beach should be self-sustaining, why should not a children's playground? In some public parks abroad, one cannot even sit on a bench without paying a sizable fee; to certain parks there is also an admission charge. Evidently the practice of asking a fee for the use of municipal services can be carried to an extreme. High-quality recreation for all is probably just as essential to the public welfare as schooling for all. We long ago decided that no one should be denied an education because of poverty; probably we will decide that most kinds of recreational facilities should be free to all. Incidentally, the creation of free recreational opportunities is one method of redistributing the national income. Those of small earnings thus obtain benefits paid for chiefly by those in higher-income brackets.

The Economy of Public Recreation. The amount

spent on public recreation is still insignificant. In cities of over 30,000 population, the average per capita expenditure for public recreation was, in 1929, only \$1.50. Each person in these cities doubtless spent several times as much on commercial amusements — moving pictures, pool rooms, bowling alleys, roller coasters, and the like — often receiving little real satisfaction for his money. For the same money that is spent by Americans every year on professional baseball we could have adequate public playfields and tennis courts where all could have the joy of active participation in sport.

The question is not "Shall we spend more money on recreation?" but "Shall we spend our recreation money individually or co-operatively?" Public recreations are co-operative enterprises. Often they provide more satisfaction to the individual users than they can provide for the same money themselves. We all agree that the government can give us better schooling than we could get for the same money in any other way. Might it not be true economy to let the government spend more of our recreation money for us?

WORD STUDY

aesthetic experience

leisure

recreation

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Differentiate between leisure and recreation.
2. What kinds of work have most recreative value? What kinds of work are most sharply contrasted to leisure?
3. Why cannot someone else choose our recreations for us?
4. Explain the four tests of a good recreation.
5. What are the recreative faults of some commercial amusements?
6. In what way may moving pictures increase mental conflict?

7. What is the function of art? Give illustrations of the everyday use of art.
8. In the machine age art tends to disappear from the daily work of many persons. Explain.
9. What are the characteristics of a good hobby? Give examples.
10. What is the chief recreative value of travel? How can this be obtained without a long journey?
11. Mention ways in which sensation is built up in (a) a folk-dance, (b) a religious ritual, (c) a formal tea.
12. What are the possible disadvantages of reading as a recreation? Study?
13. In what country is politics a leisure-time pursuit? Can you mention any examples of the amateur spirit in American politics? In social service?
14. Look at the table on p. 351 while answering the following questions:
 - (a) What two groups had the most leisure? The least?
 - (b) Can you suggest an explanation for the fact that the gainfully employed women had less leisure than the gainfully employed men?
 - (c) Why do unemployed women have less leisure than unemployed men?
15. Referring to p. 353, give evidence for thinking that these 5,002 city people were restricted in their choice of recreations either by lack of funds or by lack of public provision for recreation.
16. Discuss the arguments for public playgrounds. Whom should they serve?
17. Mention several ways of financing a municipal recreation program. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Appoint a committee to ascertain what are the chief unmet recreation needs of your community. For this purpose you might prepare a check-list or a questionnaire to be submitted to people of various age-groups, and to welfare and recreation workers, physicians, ministers, and teachers.

2. Report on the recreation program of some city.
3. Enumerate on the blackboard the common types of commercial recreations. Discuss the recreative values of each. Which need more careful regulation? Do you think that any should be abolished?
4. Enumerate the noncommercial recreations provided by public or private agencies in your community.
5. To what extent are the play needs of the children of the United States now being met? The play needs of adults?
6. Name recreations with prestige value.
7. Distinguish between nervous fatigue and that healthy tiredness that follows physical exercise. What common recreations might tend to increase nervous fatigue?
8. As culture advances, art is applied to a wider range of experience. Can you illustrate?
9. Give evidence that more people engage in sports now than formerly. What sports are growing in your community?
10. Trace the playground movement in the United States.
11. Hold a hobby show and invite your friends and parents.

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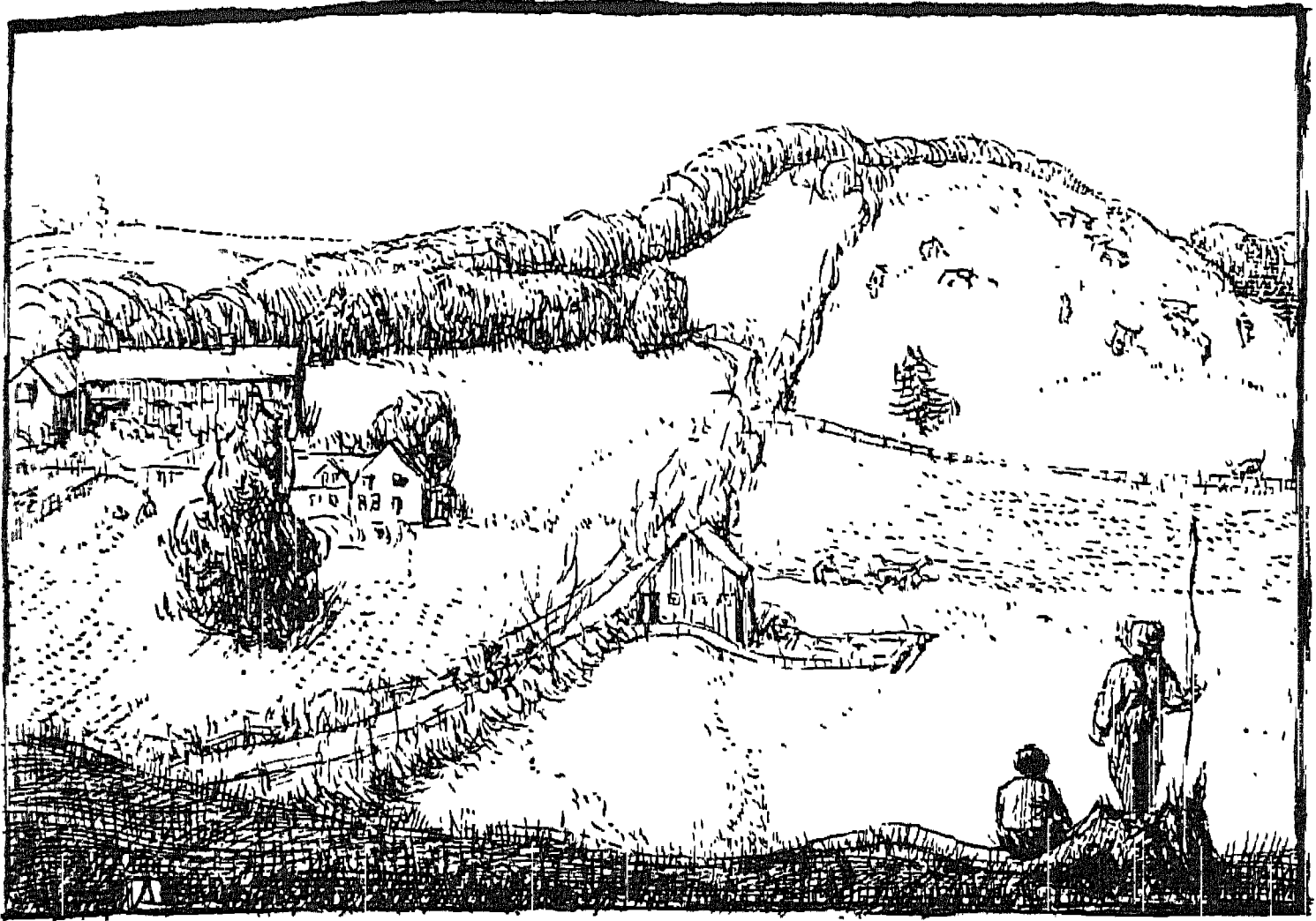
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UNIT V



RURAL SOCIETY

CHAPTER XVII. THE RURAL COMMUNITY. Village and open country population. The church and its ministry. Outlook for recreation. Health conditions. Country and village schools.

CHAPTER XVIII. THREE BASIC RURAL PROBLEMS. Problem of a permanent tenant class. Disproportionately low income of farmers. Destruction of soil and forest resources.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RURAL COMMUNITY

Where do rural people live and what do they do for a living?

Why do so many rural churches close?

Do rural dwellers have enough social recreation?

What is the distinction between child labor and child work?

Is child labor a rural or an urban problem?

What are the handicaps of the country and the village school?

HE WHO KNOWS what sweets and virtues are in the ground, the waters, the plants, the heavens, and how to come at these enchantments, is the rich and royal man.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

The Rural Population

The Declining Percentage of Farmers. In the beginning the United States was a nation of farmers. A farm family produced little beyond its own needs. As the Industrial Revolution proceeded, numerous tasks formerly done by the farm family were taken over by the factory. Decade by decade labor became more specialized. The farmer spent less time making tools, shoes, harness, wagons, and other things for his own use, and more time in raising things to sell. This specialization, together with the growing use of farm machinery, increased his productivity enormously. A century and a half ago it took all the surplus food produced by nineteen farm people to feed one city dweller. Now in average years nineteen farm people produce surplus food for sixty-six non-farmers, ten of whom live abroad.

The Declining Percentage of Rural Dwellers. The release of a large proportion of the people from farming

made possible the growth of cities. Especially since the middle of the last century, the percentage of urban dwellers — those living in communities of 2,500 or more — has risen strikingly.

PERCENTAGE OF AMERICANS LIVING IN COMMUNITIES
OF 2,500 OR MORE

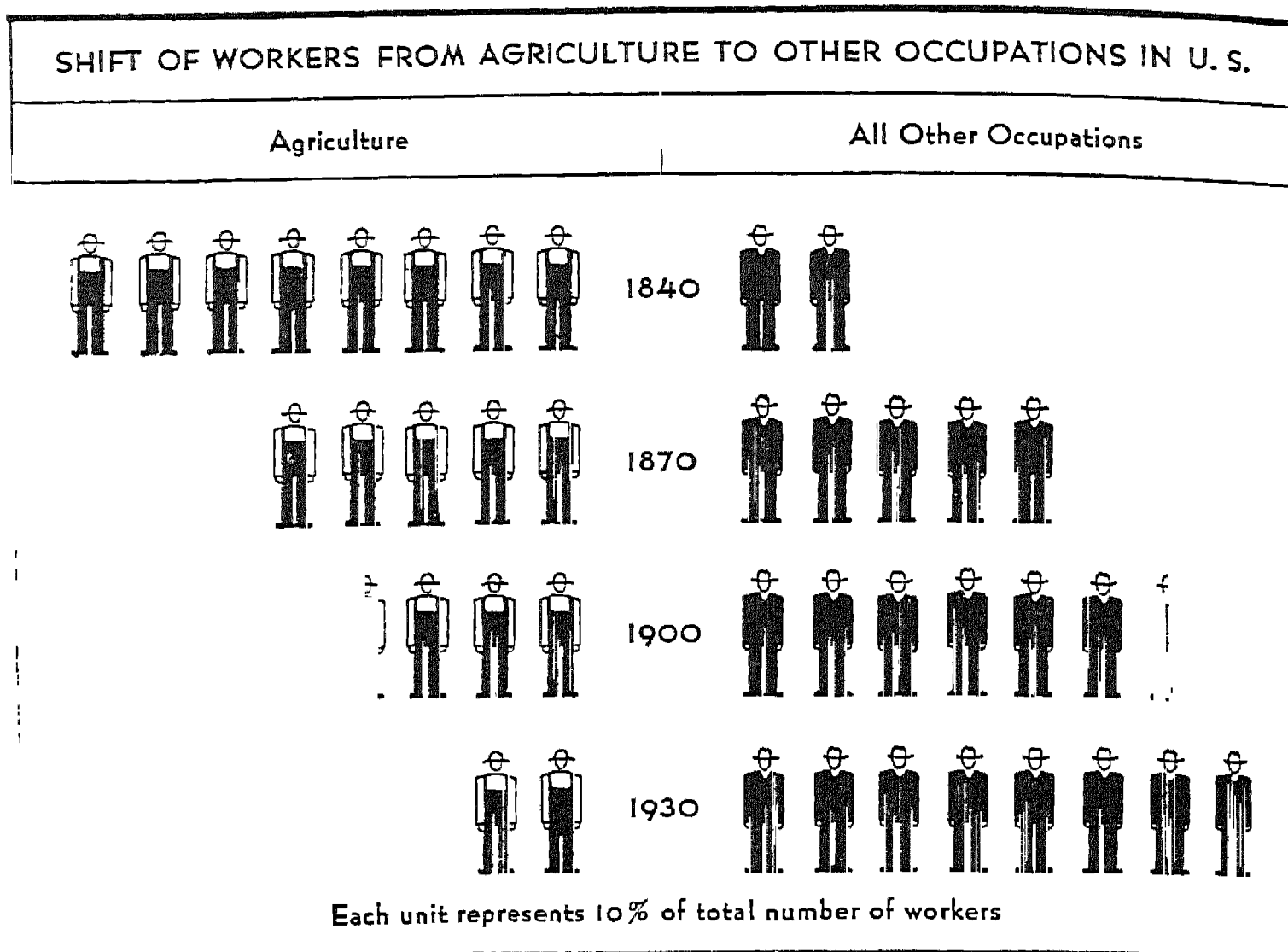
1790	3.3	1900	40.0
1850	12.5	1920	51.4
1880	28.6	1930	56.2

After 1929 the movement cityward dwindled, while that of unemployed city people going back to the farms rapidly increased. Several million young people remained on the farms who in better times would have gone to the city. With the improvement of employment opportunities, the cityward drift will again become marked.

Where Rural Dwellers Live and What They Do. Those living in communities of less than 2,500 people are classified as rural. About one third of the rural population live in villages and hamlets. (A village, according to the Census Bureau, has from 250 to 2,499 people; a hamlet has from 25 to 249 people.) Village and hamlet dwellers, for the most part, are not farmers. If they grow crops or keep livestock, it is chiefly for home use. Two thirds of the rural population live in the open country, nearly all of them on farms.

Today 43 per cent of rural dwellers do not live on farms. They engage in manufacturing, building, trade, transportation, the professions, and domestic service. Nearly all of these rural non-farm dwellers live and work in villages, but some of them travel to work in near-by cities.

Over a third of the gainfully employed men in the villages are engaged in manufacturing. Seventy per cent of village industries are intimately connected with agri-



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Fewer Farmers Are Needed because of the Growing Use of Scientific Methods and of Farm Machinery

culture and forestry, the commonest being creameries, canneries, sawmills, textile mills, and tobacco factories. A fifth of the gainfully employed village men are engaged in trade, an eighth in farming, and an eighth in transportation. From these figures it is quite evident that employment and prosperity in the village depend on the prosperity of agriculture. When the farmers are poor they buy little in the village. When they curtail their production or abandon their farms, the village industries decline. Moreover, whatever tends to create bad social conditions among farmers is bound to affect the welfare of villagers. Thus the presence of an ignorant, impoverished, unstable group of farm tenants is a drag upon near-by villages. As the farmers depend on the village for most of their social activities, there is a great deal of association between rural dwellers who

reside on farms and those who do not. The villagers cannot enjoy a high level of culture unless it is shared throughout the surrounding countryside. The problems of the two groups are closely interwoven.

The Rural Church

Since the advent of the cheap automobile and hard roads, village churches have been growing at the expense of near-by country churches. Many country churches have therefore been abandoned. When a church dies, not all its members make a new connection; this may explain why a smaller proportion of country people are church members now than formerly.

Not only country churches but also village churches often close. In a study of 140 typical farm communities widely scattered over the United States, it was found that between 1924 and 1930, one in fifteen village churches had died and one in five churches in the open country had died. However, the closing of a church often encouraged some other denomination to open one. The net loss was therefore only 4.5 per cent, or one in twenty-two churches.

Faults of the Rural Church. Most rural areas have more churches than they need. Half a dozen feeble churches struggle for existence where there is place perhaps for only two. According to students of religious organization and church finance, the ideal is one church for every thousand people of like tradition, nationality, and background. Compare this with the number of churches found in a survey of twenty-one scattered rural counties. (See table on page 370.)

It was found that the churches with the least competition had a larger membership, a larger income, and a larger attendance than other churches. They were much more likely to have a full-time minister, a good

PROTESTANT CHURCHES PER 1,000 POPULATION IN
TWENTY-ONE COUNTIES

<i>Region</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1930</i>
All Regions	2.4	1.9
Middle Atlantic	2.9	2.2
South	3.4	2.3
Middle West	2.3	2.0
Far West	1.1	1.1

Sunday school, and a program of social activities than were churches having several rivals.

Next to overchurching, the most serious fault of the rural church is its ministry. In the villages forty-three per cent of the churches have a full-time resident minister. In the open country only thirty-three per cent of the churches have a resident minister, and usually he has to earn most of his living by farming, storekeeping, or some other nonchurch work. In two thirds of open-country churches the minister does not live in the same community. Often he has several other churches. The circuit rider who comes once a month to preach a sermon is still the commonest type of country minister. When the rural minister divides his time between a number of churches or between a business and a church, he is likely to be a preacher rather than a pastor; that is, the delivery of the Sunday sermon receives more of his time and thought than day-to-day work among the parishioners.

Most rural ministers are poorly paid and indifferently housed. It is not surprising therefore that they seldom stay long in one place. The average pastorate in village churches is but two and two thirds years — much too short a time for the minister to know the people well and to enter freely into community activities. Most of the better-trained and more competent rural ministers are sooner or later called to city churches.

The other failings of the rural church are largely the result of a part-time, ill-prepared, discontented ministry. Rural churches often have no Sunday schools; when there is a Sunday school it is likely to be conducted by untrained and unsupervised teachers with a program more old-fashioned than appealing. Again, rural churches seldom try to meet the week-day recreational needs of the community. As a rule they have little space or equipment for recreation, and do not appreciate its value. Their social activities are generally limited to events for raising money. Furthermore, rural churches reach few of the tenant class. When a foreign group is present in the community, there is seldom any effort to bring it into the church. These faults point to the need of better pastorship. The emphasis has been given too exclusively to preaching, when what is needed is everyday ministry to the varied needs of the people of the community.

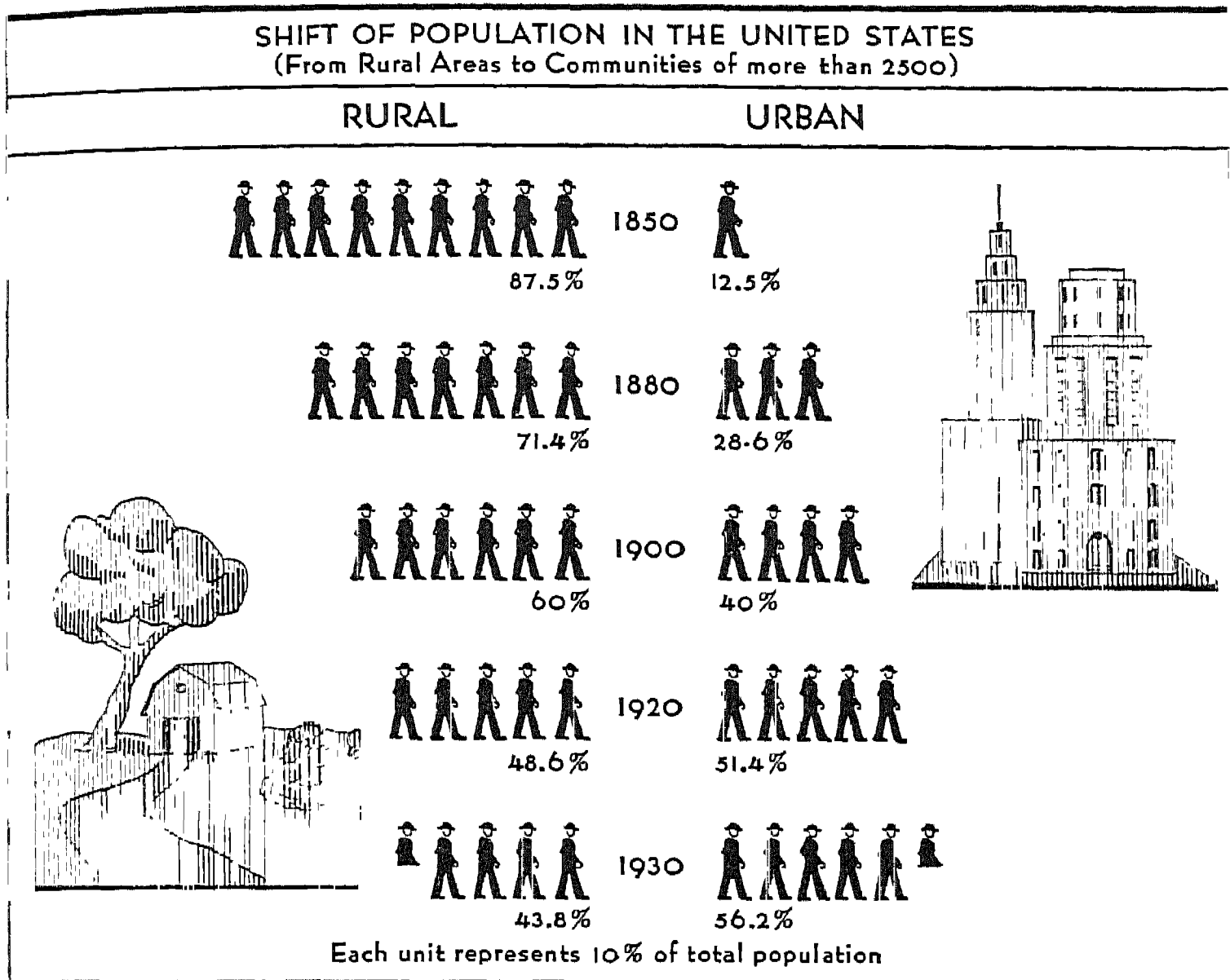
Progressive Rural Churches. Here and there are rural churches worthy of being a pattern to the rest. They have found and kept a good minister, paying him an adequate salary and giving him a comfortable house rent free. (A yearly salary of \$1,500 and a house is the recommended standard.) In some cases two or more churches unable to afford a full-time resident pastor have combined into a federated or community church. By pooling their resources they have been able to employ a full-time minister and to improve their physical equipment. They have, perhaps, built a parsonage, a play-field, and a parish house for the Sunday school and for recreational gatherings. In one community three denominations, not quite willing to fuse, decided to use a single church for worship, so that a second church could be converted into a religious education building and community hall, while the third could be used for a gymnasium. They hold their three services at non-

conflicting hours and sometimes have a union service. Not a few rural churches co-operate with other denominations in conducting a union Sunday school, teacher training classes, a vacation Bible school, or a young people's society. Sometimes several churches co-operate in sending a bus to bring in the country people who have no automobiles. Interdenominational co-operation is definitely on the increase. This is the chief hope that the rural church will become stronger and more useful. (See p. 333.)

Rural Recreation

The Decline of Rural Recreation. The self-sufficient rural community made its own play. Road making, building cabins and barns, harvesting, and other work brought neighbors together. Often the whole family came along. Some kind of frolic followed the work — a picnic dinner, a dance, a wrestling contest, or other merrymaking. As pioneer days passed there were fewer work bees. The school and the church introduced more refined social occasions — the singing school, the spelling match, the sociable, the donation party for the minister, the box social. In the villages were held county fairs, Fourth of July and Memorial Day celebrations, political rallies, Old Settlers' Days, and lodge meetings.

Then the rural exodus set in. Young people went to the city in a never-ending stream. Prosperous farmers retired to the city. Little leadership was left in village or country. Tenancy, with its constant drifting from one place to another, began to destroy community life. In the older sections thousands of farms were abandoned. Country schools and churches became less effective; they conducted fewer social affairs. Farm people went increasingly to the villages for entertainment. Commercial amusements sprang up, offering tinsel excitement instead of play. The coming of the automobile



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accentuated these changes. People began to spend much of their leisure in mere riding around — primarily because more interesting activities were not available. Open-country dwellers unable to afford cars have little chance today of enjoying social pleasures. They are more isolated than in the days before the motor car, when neighborhood ties were stronger.

The Dearth of Recreation among Farmers. American farmers mostly do not live in hamlets as do farmers in the older portions of the globe. Their isolated houses and the solitary nature of their work keep them from frequent mingling with their neighbors.

A lack of team play is especially evident. Country children rarely participate in team games, since in the one-room school there are too few children of an age to compose a play group. The absence of group play goes far to explain the fact that American farmers find it



WITH HIMSELF IN SOLITARY PLEASURE

so difficult to co-operate — many of them have never learned the spirit of team work. Their whole manner of living tends to make them individualistic.

Sometimes a group of open-country dwellers band together to build a community hall or playfield. The Red River Farmers' Club of Kittson County, Minnesota, erected a simple hall which has become a real community center. It was paid for by donated labor and \$2,500 raised at sociables and by subscription. Dramatics, picnics, athletics, and other play activities are carried on there. Near Niagara, North Dakota, an open-country neighborhood has provided itself with an eleven-acre park and playground. At a cost of \$16,000 in money and labor, wells, a lighting system, sanitary washrooms, a pavilion, kitchen, and baseball field were installed. The money was raised by forming an association in which each family bought a share. Dances,

ball games, field days, and picnics are held frequently during the summer. Hundreds of other little communities have provided themselves with a recreational center.¹ Yet the great majority of open-country neighborhoods are without these facilities.

The Outlook for Rural Recreation. Country people will undoubtedly depend more and more on the village for their recreations. Fortunately, noncommercial recreations are being revived. The little theater movement has recently made remarkable progress. In North Dakota and in North Carolina the state universities have helped to organize little theater groups all over their territory. Village schools are giving more thought to recreation, especially to athletics for boys. Rural tradition still regards sport as only for men, although the example of city women athletes will surely weaken this prejudice.

The rural church is inclined to frown upon play, regarding fun as wanton, if not positively bad. In the minds of its people still lingers the Puritan teaching that pleasure is self-indulgence. The younger and better-trained ministers have a very different attitude. They are trying to make their congregations realize the value of recreation and the necessity for including it in the church's program.

The development of community recreation depends upon leadership. If in the future more of the college-trained young people return to the villages and farms, instead of going to the city, recreation and other phases of rural community life will certainly benefit.

Rural Health Conditions

Rural Medical Service. One of the disadvantages of rural life is the remoteness from doctors and hospitals.

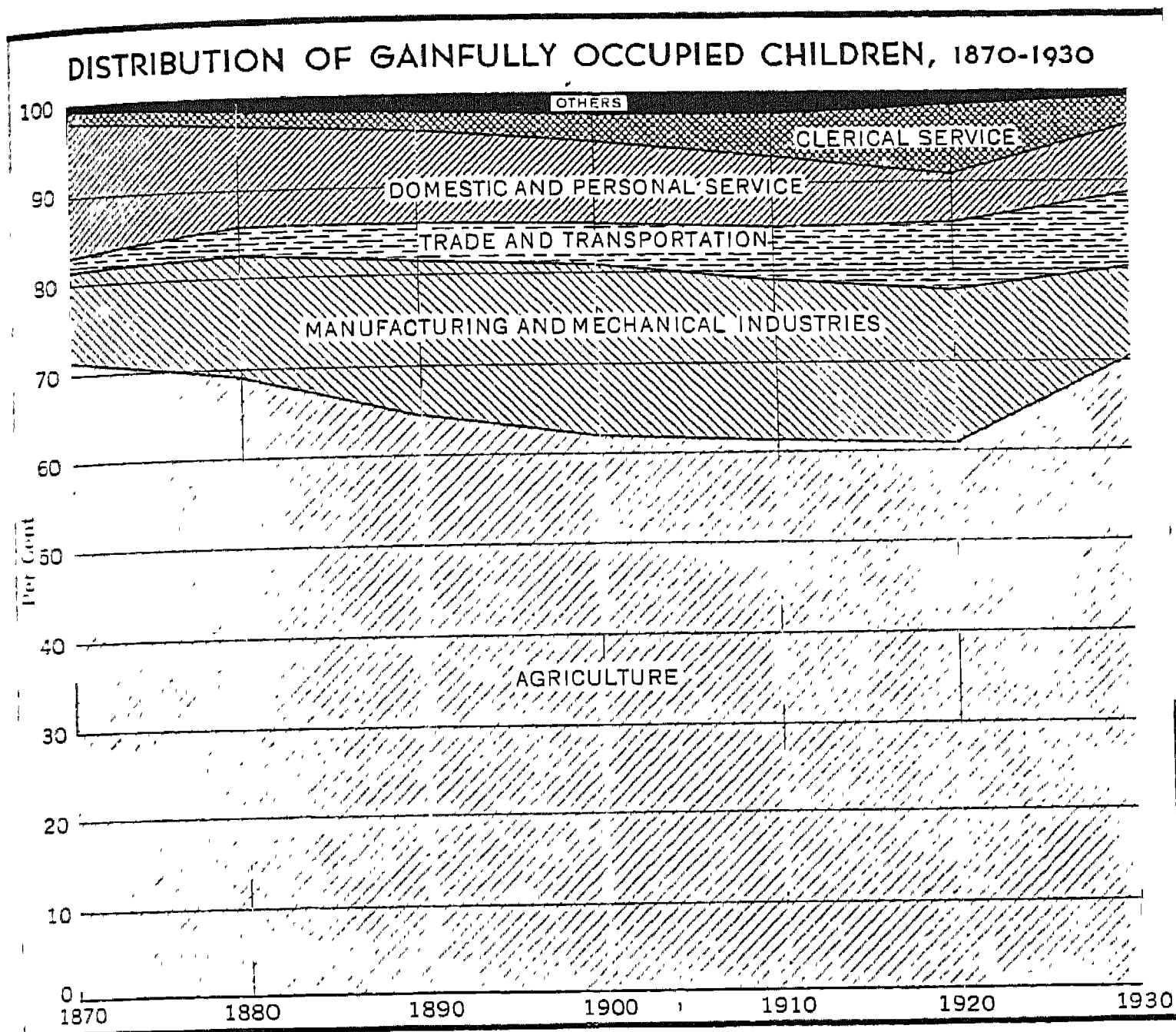
¹ For other examples consult the United States Department of Agriculture's Farmers' Bulletins No. 1274 and 1388.

Open-country dwellers rarely live near a doctor, and thousands of villages are without a doctor. In order to induce a doctor to settle in a village the residents sometimes arrange to pay him a certain sum yearly out of tax funds, in addition to whatever fees he receives from patients. Sometimes a full salary is paid him, and then the citizens are entitled to his services without charge. (In order to prevent needless calls there is usually a small fee for the first visit to each patient.) The advantages of this plan are many. Perhaps in a few decades every village will have a full- or part-time physician maintained by tax funds.

The rural death rate is slightly lower than that of the city. But the percentage of uncorrected physical defects is far greater among rural dwellers than among urbanites. Rural school children do not have the careful medical supervision that is given in city schools. A few states now send traveling clinics to rural schools to fit glasses, care for teeth, remove adenoids, and correct the other common physical defects of children. Elsewhere rural people are rarely reached by clinics.

In 1928 only forty-three per cent of all American counties had a hospital for general community use. Rural counties rarely possess such a hospital. In Canada some rural counties have met this problem by supporting a hospital from tax funds, all the citizens of the county being entitled to free hospital care whenever necessary. Were more of our rural people able to reach a hospital in time of serious illness, the rural death rate could be expected to drop.

Rural dwellers have thus far enjoyed few of the benefits of modern public health service. Out of 2,500 rural counties in the United States, only 467 had in 1929 a full-time county health unit. Only fourteen counties were spending over one dollar per capita per year, although adequate public health service costs about \$2.50



Adapted from *American Civilization Today*, by John T. Greenan. Courtesy McGraw-Hill Co.

Child Labor Is Predominantly a Rural Problem

per capita per year. A minimum health unit for a rural county of 10,000 people includes a health office, five visiting nurses, an inspector, and a clerk. Few of the 467 health units attained this standard. Before public health work in rural counties can become adequate, funds must be generously provided by the state and federal governments. Under the Federal Social Security Act of 1935 a beginning has at last been made to bring greatly needed health services to rural areas.

Two other factors that are closely connected with rural health should not be overlooked. These are child labor in agriculture and rural housing.

Child Labor on Farms. The Census of 1930 reported 469,497 children between ten and fifteen years of age

as gainfully employed in agriculture. This refers to children regularly working full time. The great majority of these children work under their parents' direction; about ten per cent work for other farmers. Seventy per cent of all child workers are employed in agriculture.

There is a distinction between child labor and child work. By child labor is meant that kind of work which interferes with health, education, and recreation. It is characterized by long hours, monotony, muscle strain, the lack of sufficient schooling and play, or by physical or moral hazards. Child work, on the other hand, describes those light and varied tasks which do not interfere with full development. Of course, a certain amount of suitable work under proper conditions actually contributes to development. Not all the children gainfully employed in agriculture should be counted as child laborers. However, much of their work is harmful, and many of them suffer from it.

Child Laborers on Southern Farms. The Federal Children's Bureau made a careful study in two typical counties of North Carolina. One county was in the mountains. Over nine tenths of the children visited, eight to fifteen years old, worked with their parents in the fields and woods. During the winter they spent several hours daily in chores. They were often kept out of school to harvest, husk corn, plant wheat, cut and haul wood, pick apples, and cut tobacco. In the summer they were more fully employed, often spending ten or eleven hours daily for weeks at work in the fields. The other county was in the lowlands. The great majority of both white and Negro children helped in the fields as well as doing chores. The tenant farmers regularly sent their children to do field work at seven or eight years of age. At every stage in the process of growing cotton — plowing, planting, "chopping," hoeing, and picking — boys and girls from five to fifteen years were at work. Children

also helped in every stage of corn and tobacco growing. Some of the work, such as cotton picking, is light, although the hours are generally very long. Other work, such as chopping cotton, is hard and monotonous.

A similar situation was found by the Children's Bureau in the cotton belt of Texas. Over one third of the children studied were spending an average of ten and a half hours a day in field work, in addition to an hour of daily chores. The white children kept this up for three months in the year, the Negro children for four months. About one sixth of the children averaged a month a year at such heavy work as plowing, harrowing, and cultivating. The bulk of the work was chopping and picking cotton. Of every nine white children engaged in chopping or picking, one was under six years of age. Of every six Negro children so employed, one was under six.

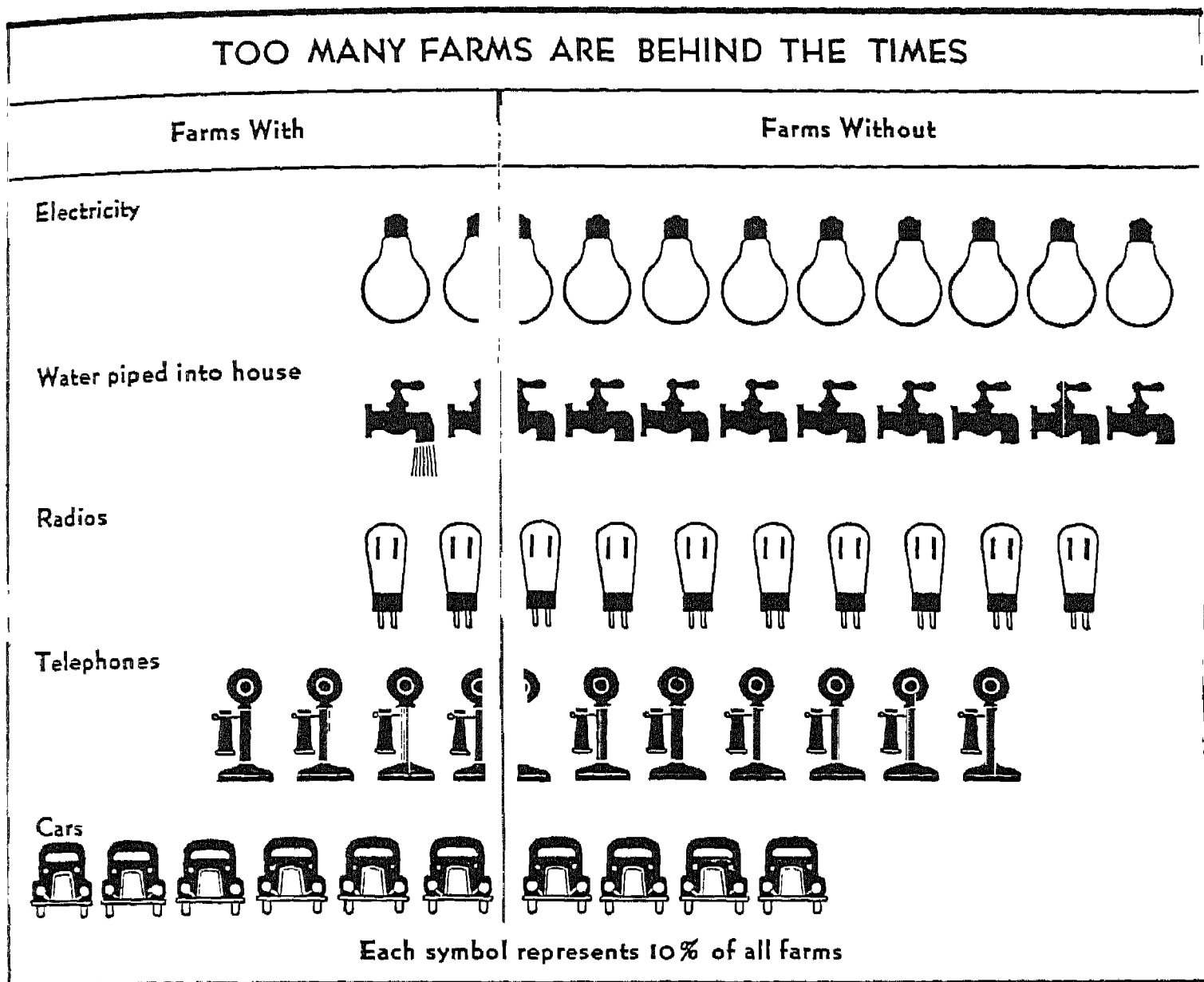
Child Labor in a Northern Farm Area. A study made in North Dakota by the Children's Bureau showed that twenty-two per cent of the children studied had worked full time during four months in the year. A great many of these children, including not a few girls, had plowed, harrowed, and operated a disk; one fourth of those under twelve had plowed, and some only seven or eight years old had plowed. These children had often cultivated and handled hay and grain. Much of the work mentioned, where machinery and large teams are used, is dangerous. Some of it involves excessive fatigue and heavy lifting. The insurance companies rank farming as an extra-hazardous occupation. Of these 845 North Dakota children, 104 had been injured by accidents while engaged in farm work.

Why the Labor of Farm Children Is Not Regulated. To some extent child labor in mines, quarries, and factories is being regulated by the states. Child labor on farms has never been limited by law, largely because of

the opposition of farmers. Stricter enforcement of compulsory school attendance laws and a nine months' school term would help to curb this evil. While economic necessity is in part responsible, undoubtedly the farmer must be educated to a wiser attitude. He does not always realize the difference between child work and labor. Nor does he always understand the importance of play. The pending amendment to the Constitution which would permit the regulation of the labor of children under eighteen has been defeated in several agricultural states. A country pastor has thus described the attitude of farmers:

In the history of agriculture there has been no more pitiful case of confusion of thought and blind leading of the blind than the opposition of the farmers to the child labor amendment. Paid representatives of industries that profit by child labor have gone to the farmers with stories that qualify as pure fiction and myth. "If this amendment is passed, the children on the farm will not be permitted to do the chores — run errands, split kindling, or wash dishes." "The Government will run your home and invade your most sacred rights as parents." In the meantime, the officials of farm organizations have been influenced by industries interested in child labor to oppose the amendment.

Most of my life I have lived among farmers and have tried to promote their best interests. I confess this child labor opposition is the most distressing situation I have ever known among farmers. Aside from its inherent injustice to children, it seems to give at least a semblance of truth to a contention which the enemies of farmers have long maintained — that they are gullible, selfish, and ignorant. Why gullible? Because they listen to the stories about chores and dishwashing. Selfish? Because they want to profit by child labor. Ignorant? Because they have not got at the facts about the child labor amendment. No wonder progressive farmers are asking, "Are farmers peasants?" This child labor proposition causes every friend of the race to shudder. Can a great section of America



© U. S. Rural Electrification Administration

Most American Farms Are Without Modern Conveniences. When an Automobile Is Maintained, It Is Generally because It Is Essential to the Farm Business

be swung into line against child rights by myths, fairy tales, selfishness, and the boggy of Government control? ¹

Farm Housing. The Civil Works Administration in 1934 conducted a survey of farmhouses. A sample consisting of 622,413 houses in all parts of the country was carefully selected. This represents one tenth of all farm homes. Half of the houses proved to be in good structural condition, although most of these needed painting on the outside and much refinishing within. It was estimated that the average house in this group needed repairs costing \$575. The other half of the

¹ C. M. McConnell, Board of Sunday Schools, M. E. Church, "Zion's Herald," quoted in *Rural America*, June, 1925, p. 10.

houses were not structurally sound. Some fifteen per cent needed new foundations; fifteen to twenty per cent needed a new roof; ten to fifteen per cent should have their floors replaced; ten per cent needed extensive repairs or replacements of exterior walls.

Only a small proportion of farm homes have modern improvements. When farmers have any money above immediate necessities, they almost always invest it in their business — in machinery, equipment, livestock, and farm buildings. They rarely feel able to afford comforts within the home. The back-breaking toil of many farm women should be considered in connection with the following facts:

PERCENTAGE OF FARMHOUSES HAVING IMPROVEMENTS

Water supply in house		Central heat	
Hand pump.....	13.2	Pipeless.....	2.5
Running water.....	17.0	Piped.....	5.6
Bathtub.....	11.5	Refrigeration	
Kitchen sink with drain	27.2	Ice.....	25.0
Electricity		Mechanical.....	2.5
Home plant.....	3.9	Stoves other than wood	
Power line.....	14.1	or coal (chiefly oil	
Power washing machine	20.6	stoves).....	28.7

Tenant houses are generally far below the standard of health and decency. The tenant makes no repairs, since these will belong to the landlord, and in any case he will be moving soon. The typical landlord regards his tenants as a shiftless lot for whose living standards he has no responsibility. Consequently tenant houses are often worse than slum dwellings in the city.

Village Housing. No nationwide study of village housing has ever been made. It seems probable that village housing is better, on the average, than farm housing. A family's dwelling nearly always reflects its income, and the income of villagers is higher, on the

average, than the income of farmers. Villagers are much more likely than open-country dwellers to be served by electric lines. When electricity is available, a home owner can install his own water system (including an automatic electric pump and modern plumbing) for not much more than the cost of a new, low-priced automobile. Accordingly, the percentage of village homes with running water, a bathroom, a power washing machine, and a mechanical refrigerator must be considerably higher than it is for farm homes.

Half the houses in the United States are below the standard of health and decency. Many, if not most, village houses would fall below the standard because of the lack of a sanitary indoor toilet. Health regulations are very lenient outside of great cities, and no attempt is made to enforce any sort of minimum standard in housing. The improvement of village housing will probably come about very slowly through the action of individual home owners.

Rural Schools

The One-Room School. There still are in use in the United States about 135,000 one-room schools. The one-room school building is generally old, poorly planned, and miserably equipped. Drinking water and sanitary arrangements are often entirely lacking. A one-room school with attractive grounds and any equipment for play is a rare exception.

For even a well-trained and experienced teacher the one-room school presents an exceedingly difficult problem. How can she possibly provide, all at the same time, for the needs of children ranging from six to sixteen years? Besides, her pupils will attend irregularly during busy periods on the farm. In many places they will be further handicapped by a shortage of textbooks or by having to use books that are very old and worn.

There are too few pupils to stimulate each other to do good work, even were conditions otherwise favorable to learning.

The typical white teacher of a one-room school is a high school graduate with two and a half years' experience, but thousands of them have only completed elementary school. Nearly one fourth are not over twenty years of age; a considerable number are not yet sixteen. The turnover of white teachers in one-room schools is excessive; two in every five must be replaced annually.

The typical Negro teacher of a one-room school has two and a half years' schooling beyond the eighth grade and four years' experience. She teaches a total of 123 days for an annual salary of \$314.

The Consolidated School. Wherever it is possible, the consolidation of single-room schools is by far the best solution. Consolidation means the merging of several small school districts and the public transportation of the children to a central building. A consolidated school has about the same operating cost per pupil as a one-room school, since the extra expense for transportation is offset by the saving made in teaching cost when schools with a handful of pupils are brought together and the teachers given larger classes.

In most cases the consolidated school provides better education than does the one-room school. The children are graded; reasonable time can be given to each subject; better teachers can be obtained; and they can specialize in the subjects or grades for which they are fitted. The group is large enough for organized play and for mental stimulation such as is not found in the one-room school. Moreover, the modern buildings and grounds of a consolidated school lend themselves to use as a community center. Usually it has an auditorium and playing fields; frequently there is also a gymnasium. These facilities should, of course, be available to groups

of children or adults whenever school is not in session. The consolidated school appears to offer the best means of bringing social recreation and adult education to open-country families.

The Need for State and Federal Aid to Rural Schools. There are numerous rural areas so thinly settled that consolidation of district schools is not practicable. Children should not have to spend more than one hour in traveling to or from school. There should be not less than eighty pupils for a four-teacher elementary school, and not less than sixty pupils for a four-year high school. Where there are a sufficient number of pupils within one hour's travel of the proposed school, the greatest drawback to consolidation is likely to be the cost of the necessary building. The tax burden on farmers is already great; in some communities they cannot possibly afford to add to it.

Since one half or more of rural children will go to the city after completing their schooling, it seems just that state or federal aid be given generously to rural schools. In the southern states the per capita income is so low, and the proportion of children in the population is so high, that state aid alone would be insufficient to provide good rural schools. Federal aid has therefore been urged. (See pp. 298–299.) Many states now have a system of financial aid to improve rural schools. To receive aid from the state the district must keep its schools open a certain number of days and employ teachers of certain minimum qualifications. As yet the farmers in most states still have to spend a much higher proportion of their incomes on their schools than do village and city people.

Village Schools. Half the pupils in village high schools and one fourth of those in elementary schools come from the open country. Their tuition in some states is paid from state funds; in others it must be

paid by their parents. Naturally many farm children cannot attend school if their parents are required to pay tuition.

The village high school has to center its efforts on its college preparatory course. Fifty per cent of its graduates will go to college or some other educational institution, whereas only twenty-five per cent of the graduates of city high schools will go to higher institutions of learning. This probably reflects the greater difficulty that rural young people face in finding employment. To overcome their handicap they are eager to obtain higher education.

Village schools are not always the equal of city schools, but they are nearly always far superior to the one- and two-teacher schools found in the open country. In some respects a village is an ideal place for a school. The community is more interested in its schools than is the large city. The pupils have fewer distractions than in the city. They are more likely to have a quiet place to study, for they do not come from overcrowded, noisy tenements. There is no reason why a village school should not have spacious grounds and a beautiful setting. If it has a modern building and a contented, well-prepared teaching staff, it can do work of as high quality as any city school.

Comparatively few village schools make the most of their opportunities. Most of them do not have large, attractive grounds. They are quite likely to be crowded on a small lot on the main street, with a garage on one side and a factory on the other. Their buildings are usually antiquated, and are often without modern plumbing and heating. Salaries as a rule are low and teacher turnover very high.

Parent-teachers associations have an exceptional opportunity in the village. The village school is conspicuous. It easily becomes the chief concern of the community. With effective leadership the people can be

made conscious of the shortcomings of their school and can be organized to improve it. Next to the construction of a suitable building in a desirable location, the most important step is often the construction of a teacherage. When the teachers are comfortably housed in a real home of their own, they are likely to remain a long time in the community. Under these conditions they often make the most valuable of citizens, supplying leadership not only in school affairs but in other village social activities.

Summary. That rural dwellers do not have the well-organized social services enjoyed by urbanites is obvious. They have not been forced to develop the same provisions for child welfare, public health, the care of the sick, and community recreation, nor have they attempted to regulate housing. The city, in order to counteract the dangerous effects of congestion, has put some of its best minds to the task of creating a favorable human environment. It has not only overcome many of its handicaps, but it promises in time to become a safer and more agreeable place in which to live than the rural community. The rural community has been held back by a lack of leadership, a greater reverence for tradition, and by an attitude of individualism. Rural Americans have been slow to undertake co-operative action to promote the common welfare.

Yet we must not imagine that the present defects of the rural community are due entirely to a lack of co-operation and leadership. Economic factors, including the growth of tenancy, the low income of farmers, and the erosion of the soil, have had a hurtful influence. In the near future these threaten to be still more destructive of wholesome community life. Unless a way can be found to combat these evils, our rural civilization will sink to a lower level. In the next chapter we shall consider this situation and what may be done about it.

WORD STUDY

consolidated school
hamlet

rural population
teacherage

urban population
village

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Show that agriculture is becoming more specialized. How has specialization increased the output of the farmer?
2. After 1929 what change occurred in the movement of population between farm and city?
3. What proportion of rural dwellers do not live on farms? Where do they live? How are they occupied?
4. Show that the social and economic welfare of non-farmers, both in village and city, is interwoven with that of farmers.
5. What group of rural churches has declined since the advent of the automobile?
6. Is the gradual decrease in the number of rural churches to be applauded or deplored? Reasons.
7. What is the situation as regards the rural ministry? Why do rural churches not obtain a more adequate ministry?
8. What reasons are there to believe that the rural sickness and death rates might be lowered?
9. What factors delay the development of better rural health service?
10. Distinguish between child labor and child work. Why has child labor on farms never been regulated?
11. Why do farmhouses so seldom have modern conveniences?
12. What are the advantages of the consolidated school over the one-room school? Disadvantages?
13. Name the advantages of the model village school as compared with a city school.
14. Why is a teacherage often a good community investment?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Write to the National Child Labor Committee, New York City, also to the Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C., for literature on child labor in agriculture. Report your findings to the class.

2. Prepare a report on the little theater movement in rural areas. The *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* is the best place to begin your investigation. Perhaps the class may attend a little theater in your own community.
3. Describe a notable country or village church. One which you know at first hand would be best.
4. Describe a consolidated school which is a real community center. If you can, visit such a school. Your State Department of Education and the Office of Education in Washington will assist you with materials on consolidated schools.
5. Write to the Rural Electrification Administration in Washington for information regarding its activities.
6. Find out how the Social Security Act is affecting rural health service.
7. Prepare a graph showing that one eighth of the people of the United States live in villages, one thirtieth in hamlets, 56.2 per cent in communities of 2,500 or over, while the remainder live in the open country.
8. Can you explain why farming is ranked as an extra-hazardous occupation?
9. State the reasons given by those urging state and federal aid to rural schools.
10. Among open-country dwellers that you have observed, what are the principal leisure-time activities? What village recreations do they patronize?
11. Which is more important for human beings, the natural or the social environment?
12. Which do you think is making faster progress toward the creation of a favorable human environment, the city or the rural community? Why?
13. Describe a typical farming community in Europe. Where are the farmhouses located? The farm lands? How does it differ from an American farming community?
14. How did the Homestead Act of 1863 prevent the formation of compact farming communities in the West?
15. Are American farmers more individualistic than city dwellers? Defend your answer. If there is a difference, how do you account for it?

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CHAPTER XVIII

THREE BASIC RURAL PROBLEMS

What can be done to prevent the growth of an American peasantry?

Why does the American farmer receive so small a share of the national income?

Why has the control of soil erosion become urgent?

Why has the idea of land-use planning spread so rapidly?

WE THINK of our land and water and human resources not as static and sterile possessions but as life-giving assets to be directed by wise provision for future days. We seek to use our natural resources not as a thing apart but as something that is interwoven with industry, labor, finance, taxation, agriculture, homes, recreation, good citizenship. The results of this interweaving will have a greater influence upon the future American standard of living than all the rest of our economics put together.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

THE STURDY independence of American farmers and the ease with which their children have risen in the world have long distinguished the United States. We have looked pityingly upon the backward peasantry of other lands and congratulated ourselves that there were no peasants here — no static class of lowly and hopeless tillers of the soil. Perhaps we have been too optimistic. Careful students are aware of a drift toward the creation of an American peasantry. Unless the drift is checked our whole civilization will be affected.

I. The Problem of a Permanent Tenant Class

The Growth of Farm Tenancy. Good farm land in the United States can no longer be obtained for little or nothing. It is valuable. In fact many farmers can never save enough to buy their farms, and must remain as

tenants to the end of their days. Once tenancy was a step toward ownership. The agricultural ladder had three steps — laborer, tenant, owner. Those who began to climb this ladder between 1870 and 1880 spent an average of 10.1 years as laborers and tenants before becoming owners. Three to four decades later those who were to climb to ownership had to spend an average of nineteen years on the way, while millions of others never got beyond the stage of tenancy. For fifty years the proportion of farms operated by tenants has been steadily growing. Is the owner-operator going to disappear?

PER CENT OF ALL FARMS OPERATED BY TENANTS

1880	25.6	1910	37.0
1890	28.4	1920	38.1
1900	35.3	1930	42.4

Well-Situated Tenants. About twenty-three per cent of all farm tenants are related to their landlords. They generally expect to inherit the farm or to buy it later on favorable terms. There are also some tenants, especially in the North, who have sufficient capital to buy a farm, but who prefer renting to owning. They do not wish to be tied to one spot as ownership would tie them. Another group of tenants are those with considerable working capital in the form of livestock, machinery, and equipment. They are practically partners of their landlords, and are able to make good terms. It is not these well-situated tenants who are a problem, but the great group who have little or no capital and no hope of ever becoming owners. The majority of this group are found in the South.

The Evils of Tenancy. The average occupancy of all farm tenants is between two and three years; that of farm owners is fourteen years. Those tenants with little capital frequently move every year. They do not stay

long enough in one place to take active part in any sort of organization. They have little interest in schools and churches and government. They keep their children home from school whenever there is farm work to be done; indeed, they are too poor to spare the labor of the children. Because of their poverty and ignorance they are regarded as an inferior social class with whom the remainder of the community wants nothing to do.

In the seventeen southern states the average tenant farm is only half the size of the average owner-operator's farm. As a rule the tenant has too little land, capital, or credit for efficient production. He is usually required by the landlord to follow the one-crop system, although this makes for rapid soil depletion. He has no interest in maintaining the fertility of the soil nor in repairing or improving the farm buildings. Why should he, when he will shortly move to another place? Although the women and children work in the fields throughout the growing and harvesting season, the typical tenant family earns extremely little.

The Cropper. There are two principal types of tenants — renters and croppers. The renter owns his work animals and equipment; he pays cash or a share of the crop for the use of the farm. On the other hand, the cropper seldom owns either work animals or equipment. As a rule he owns nothing but a few tools and the trifling contents of his cabin. He is so poor as to be completely without bargaining power. The landlord furnishes work animals, equipment, firewood, and small advances of money and groceries. Against the cropper's half of the crop money, the landlord charges the cropper's debts for advances and also one half of the fertilizer bill. The cropper gets what is left — if there is anything left. Should there be an unpaid debt owing to the landlord, the cropper is bound by custom to work another year to pay it out. The lot of the cropper is wretched and hope-

less. His standard of living is worse than that of any other group in the entire country.

Few croppers are found outside the cotton belt. There are 700,000 cotton croppers, half of them white and half of them Negro. The cropping system is demoralizing whether the tenant is white or Negro, but it is particularly oppressive in the case of Negroes. Because many Negroes are irresponsible and shiftless (due, in large measure, to their extreme poverty), the planters have been allowed to adopt very exacting methods in dealing with them. The Negro has no way to protect himself; it is dangerous for him to protest. The injustice that may so easily arise from this situation has been described in the following words:

When the Negro tenant takes up land or hires out to the landlord, he ordinarily signs a contract, or if he cannot sign (about half the Negro tenants of the black belt are wholly illiterate), he makes his mark. He often has no way of knowing, certainly, what is in the contract, though the arrangement is usually clearly understood, and he must depend on the landlord to keep both the rent and the supply store accounts. In other words, he is wholly at the planter's mercy — a temptation as dangerous for the landlord as the possibilities which it presents are for the tenant. It is so easy to make large profits by charging immense interest percentages or outrageous prices for supplies to tenants who are too ignorant or weak to protect themselves, that the stories of the oppressive landlord in the South are scarcely surprising. It is easy, when the tenant brings in his cotton in the fall, not only to underweigh it, but to credit it at the lowest prices of the week, and this dealing of the strong with the weak is not Southern, it is human. Such a system has encouraged dishonesty and wastefulness; it has made many landlords cruel and greedy; it has increased the helplessness of the Negro.¹

¹ *Following the Color Line* by Ray Stannard Baker, © 1908, 1936 by Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., p. 94.

The plight of the croppers, both Negro and white, has become more alarming than ever in the last few years. The demand for cotton has dropped, making necessary a reduction in acreage. This has led to the casting off, by landlords, of thousands of croppers. Furthermore, some of the larger and more level farms are already being worked by machinery, necessitating the discharge of a large proportion of the croppers. With the introduction of the mechanical cotton picker, a great many more of the croppers will no longer be wanted. The question is, where can they go and what will they do?

The low condition to which many croppers have already fallen is illustrated by a typical group of relief families in North Carolina. Ninety of these families were Negroes and forty-one were whites. The members of these families had an average farm experience of thirteen years. They knew no other job. Their average income for the year 1934 was \$28.46 per capita, or \$162 per family. This is forty-two cents per family per day. Of this sum, \$26 per family had come from the Federal Relief Administration.

Within the near future Congress will certainly have to formulate a policy by which the displaced croppers can become self-sustaining. Apparently there is little hope that they can be absorbed in the cities. Probably the solution will be to help them buy subsistence farms on which they can produce most of their food. It will also be necessary for them to have some cash income. Even on the level at which croppers are accustomed to live, a family must have at least \$300 worth of purchased goods a year.¹ With assistance and training, a community of subsistence farmers might develop small co-operative industries, producing most of their needs and a small salable surplus.

Can We Lessen Tenancy? Unless strong measures

¹ According to studies made by the Federal Relief Administration.

are adopted, farm tenancy will continue to increase in every section. Year by year we shall have fewer owner-operators and more tenants, and the latter will be obliged to accept ever less favorable terms from landlords. Thus the rural standard of living will fall lower and lower. This will not only be ruinous to rural society, but also to the city. The least of the resulting injuries will be the city's loss of a very considerable part of its market for manufactured goods.

A greater injury will come from the lowering of the level of civilization. If a nation cannot exist half slave and half free, neither can a lofty culture be developed when a third of the people are ignorant and impoverished. The city population is recruited from the country; its advance depends on the character and mentality of the incoming stream of farm-reared youth.

A number of nations have already faced this problem, and reorganized the system of land tenure. Denmark long ago abolished tenancy altogether. Ireland, Germany, and Mexico have recently made drastic reforms. In nearly every country of Europe, and in Canada and Australia, the governments have adopted plans by which the landless may acquire farms. Very little along this line has been accomplished in the United States.

There are two principal ways of improving the lot of tenants: (1) to enable them to purchase farms, and (2) to enable them to secure more equal conditions for bargaining with landlords. Whatever helps accomplish the first will automatically bring about the second, for if the road to farm ownership is open, tenants are not obliged to accept unfavorable terms for renting. The following practical measures have been proposed:

(1) *A graduated land tax to discourage large land holdings and to encourage farm ownership.* Already thirty-nine per cent of the total farm acreage of the United States is included in 3.9 per cent of the farms. Enormous

tracts of potential farm land are owned by private individuals and by railroads. These tracts now pay trifling taxes.

(2) *Land settlement aided by the states or the federal government.* California has a very successful plan for aiding war veterans to buy farms, with twenty years to pay. All money advanced by the state, as well as the cost of administering the plan, is to be paid by the purchasers; hence there will be no expense to the taxpayers. The Resettlement Administration (1933-1937) established a few model farm colonies. Under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of 1937 a modest appropriation was made to help tenants to buy farms.

(3) *The provision of cheap credit to farmers.* Considerable progress has been made in giving long-term credit to farmers. Short-term credits are still very costly. Were croppers able to secure credit elsewhere than from their landlords, their bargaining position would be vastly improved. Here and there farm tenants have established a co-operative credit union with great advantage to themselves. Co-operative credit unions have been extensively developed by farmers in western Europe.

(4) *Compensation for improvements by tenants.* The tenant now lacks any incentive to improve the farm he operates. In fact, should he do so he may be asked to pay more rent. Our laws might be modified somewhat as England has modified hers: to allow compensation to the tenant for unexhausted improvements; and to give the tenant the right to remove fixtures installed by himself.

Yet the improvement of the system of land tenure is not enough. If all the farm tenants in the United States were to be given outright ownership of their farms, together with abundant, low-cost credit, their lot might still be unsatisfactory. The causes of rural poverty go deeper. Indeed, tenancy is a symptom as much as it is

a cause of the poverty of the farming population. Let us turn now to two other problems which are closely related to the problem of tenancy, namely, the disproportionately low income of farmers, and the destruction of rural resources.

II. The Disproportionately Low Income of Farmers

The Farmer's Return from His Investment. The income of businessmen should include a return for their investment, besides a return for their labor. Farm owners have a substantial investment, and even tenant farmers (excepting croppers) have invested money in machinery, work animals, other livestock, tools, and equipment. Farmers receive a much smaller rate of return on their investment than do other businessmen. In the best years it is seldom as much as four per cent, while in bad years it is less than nothing. The United States Department of Agriculture has estimated the rate for several recent years as follows:

RETURN TO CAPITAL AND MANAGEMENT AS PERCENTAGE OF OPERATOR'S NET CAPITAL 1924-1933¹

	<i>Per Cent</i>		<i>Per Cent</i>
1924	4.1	1929	3.3
1925	5.0	1930	— 0.7
1926	2.9	1931	— 2.8
1927	3.5	1932	— 4.2
1928	3.3	1933	1.9

The Farmer's Labor Income. The farmer and his family earn little for their labor. What the whole family receives for its labor, including things supplied by the farm, is usually much less than the earnings of

¹ Wage allowance for farmer's and family labor, also taxes or rent to non-operators, interest on debts to non-operators, and other operating expenses have been deducted. Cash value of house rent, food, and fuel provided by the farm to the farm family has been included.



NO MONEY TO PAY THE INTEREST ON THE MORTGAGE,
AND HIS FARM IS SOLD TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER

individual workers in other occupations. In 1925, for instance, which was a good year for farmers, their *family* labor income was only \$804, while workers in other occupations averaged \$1,415 *each*.

The farmers have not received their just share of the national income in the past, and they do not receive it today. Between 1909 and 1914, in the years of prewar normalcy, when the rest of the American people received an average per capita income of about \$400, the farmers only got about \$160 per capita per year. This was only forty per cent of the share to which they were entitled. In 1919, the year of highest farm prices following the war, the farmer received only fifty-nine per cent of the average per capita income of the remainder of the population. Agriculture did not share the industrial prosperity of the years from 1919 to 1929. In fact the

farmer's share of the national income dropped still further. In 1929, when everybody else in the country received an average income of almost \$800, the farmer only got about \$275 per capita income. This was only thirty-four per cent of the farmer's just share.

We often think that the farm crisis began in 1920, when the European countries ceased their heavy buying of American wheat, pork, and cotton. Actually the farmers, taken as a group, have never enjoyed so much prosperity as non-farmers.

Reasons for the Low Income of Farmers. The principal reasons for the farmers' small earnings are as follows:

1. *The farmer receives only thirty to forty per cent of the price paid by the consumer for farm products.* The rest is absorbed by those who handle, ship, process, and distribute the product. In some commodities speculators and racketeers get a sizable slice of the consumer's dollar. High transportation costs are a very important item. Fancy packages, costly advertising of brand names, the needless duplication of retail stores, and other wastes must also be considered. Elevators, warehouses, storage plants, packing plants, creameries, and similar tools of production are owned by non-farmers, and managed for the profit of their owners rather than for the benefit of farmers. Dozens of profits may be exacted before the farm product gets to the consumer.

In Denmark, co-operative marketing associations handle the farmers' products from the time they leave the farm to the time they reach the consumer. As a result the farmer receives seventy to seventy-five per cent of the price paid by the consumer. American farmers, too, have organized many marketing co-operatives, but these co-operatives generally sell the raw product to wholesalers and processors. Therefore they do not greatly increase the farmers' share of the final selling price.

2. *The farmer pays high prices for the things he buys.* The output of many of the things the farmer buys for his business and for his home is regulated by monopoly or secret agreement. Therefore the prices remain high through bad years as well as good. Because manufactured articles remained high while farm products were very low, in March, 1933, the farmers had only half as much purchasing power as in the years from 1910 to 1914. Since then some improvement has occurred.

3. *The farmers' market is easily glutted.* A small surplus of any farm product always brings a pronounced decline in the value of the entire crop. For this reason the years when weather conditions are most favorable are most to be dreaded by farmers. When the price of a manufactured article is cut, the demand for that article is generally increased. This is not so true of farm products. People do not eat more of the staple foods when the price falls. The disastrous effect of a crop surplus is clearly shown below:

<i>Crop</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Value of total crop when 20 per cent below normal</i>	<i>Value of normal crop</i>	<i>Value of total crop when 20 per cent above normal</i>
Potatoes .	1897-1915	123	100	84
	1915-1920	175	100	64
	1921-1925	222	100	53
Corn.....	1877-1894	104	100	97
	1895-1913	126	100	83
	1915-1920	121	100	86
	1921-1926	154	100	71

4. *Many farms are too small.* For every type of agriculture there is a size of farm which is most economical. It must be large enough to make efficient use of machinery and capital. The medium-size unit where the owner is both manager and worker and employs some hired

labor, is usually more profitable than other sizes. In general farming the best income is made from farms ranging in size from 174 to 200 acres.

At least one third of all farms are much too small for efficient production. These are the marginal farms whose owners make the barest of livings. In 1929 half the farms of this country sold less than one thousand dollars' worth of products each. From this sum had to be paid the cash expenses of the farm as well as the family. Such small-scale production, even if it were efficient, could hardly maintain a family except in extreme poverty. It should be noted, however, that many farmers work off their own farms during the slack season, thus supplementing their slender cash income.

5. *Lack of adequate working capital.* Most farmers cannot make their farms efficient because their capital is inadequate. In trying to remedy this situation, they borrow. Farm mortgage indebtedness amounted in 1930 to forty per cent of the value of all farms. Farmers generally buy machinery, automobiles, and trucks on credit. Interest payments on borrowed capital become extremely burdensome in hard times, for the interest rate does not drop, while the prices the farmer obtains for his products are severely cut.

6. *Lack of organization.* Practically every other industry can restrict its output or find a market through advertising. Not so with farming. Each farmer decides for himself what he shall produce. If the price of any farm product is temporarily favorable, thousands expand their production of that commodity. The next year's market is glutted; prices fall below the cost of production; every producer loses, and some are bankrupt.

The production of nearly every farm commodity follows a cycle. A year of low production due to bad weather, a disease, or the ravages of an insect pest will

be followed by several seasons of above-normal production. Prices fall disastrously. Then production declines and prices show an improvement, whereupon the cycle repeats itself.

There are over six million farm operators. Before they can better their situation they must combine into strong marketing co-operatives and learn to adjust their output to the effective demand. The fruit-growers of the Pacific Coast have demonstrated the advantages of organized planning.

In recent years farmers have been increasingly driven to organize. Besides marketing co-operatives, there are now many farmers' purchasing co-operatives. When the co-operative manufactures as well as distributes an item, it may secure a very worthwhile saving. One big co-operative in the East operates its own feed mills and fertilizer plant, thus supplying products of known quality at a lower price. Its profit-making competitors have been obliged to reduce their prices. In this way the co-operative has benefited all farmers throughout its territory.

7. *The unequal tax burden.* The bulk of taxes in the United States has always come from real estate. In the early years of our history this was entirely equitable. Nearly all wealth was in the form of real estate, and a man's income was likely to be proportional to the value of his visible (tangible) property. Today a large part of the wealth of the nation is in securities — non-tangible property. While the earnings from many classes of securities are lightly taxed, this form of wealth still pays far less than its share of taxes. *One fourth of the wealth in the United States is tax-exempt, and this is mostly held by urban dwellers.* Practically all of the farmer's wealth is taxed, and at a much higher rate than is non-tangible property. In 1913 the farmer paid 10.6 per cent of his income in taxes, as against 4.1 per cent by non-farmers.

In 1922 the farmer paid 16.6 per cent of his income in taxes and the other classes paid 11.9 per cent.

8. *The shrunken market for farm products.* Since 1920 we have had a continuous farm depression. In that year exports of American farm products began to shrink. Ever since, we have had a huge surplus of cotton, corn, and wheat. At least forty million acres of fairly good farm land, or one hundred million acres of poor land, must be retired, says Henry Wallace, unless our exports can be restored.

Moreover, the domestic market has also been cut, due to the unemployment of millions of city workers. Our people have had less money to spend for food, clothing, and vacations in the country. They have bought cheaper foods, less clothing, and have spent less money on recreations, causing a still further drop in the income of farmers. The lower standard of living so reduced the domestic market for food that six million less acres were required in 1933 than in 1929. Yet, according to estimates of the Department of Agriculture, if every person in the United States were to have a liberal diet, the 1929 production of milk must be increased by fifty-three per cent, of butter by 108 per cent, of leafy green and yellow vegetables by seventy-nine per cent, of citrus fruits by eighty-four per cent, of eggs by forty-three per cent.¹

To meet these requirements 40,000,000 more acres would be needed than were in crops in 1933. In other words, should the standard of living be raised sufficiently to enable every American family to obtain a liberal diet, the farm depression that has prevailed since 1920 would be overcome. The 40,000,000 acres no longer needed for export crops could be used to supply the expanded domestic market. This change would not, of course, be

¹ A liberal diet includes the optimum quantity of vitamins, mineral salts, fats, and proteins. It contains less carbohydrates and sugars than the diet of the average American today. See pp. 232-235.

TO GIVE EVERYONE ENOUGH WE MUST PRODUCE MORE FOOD

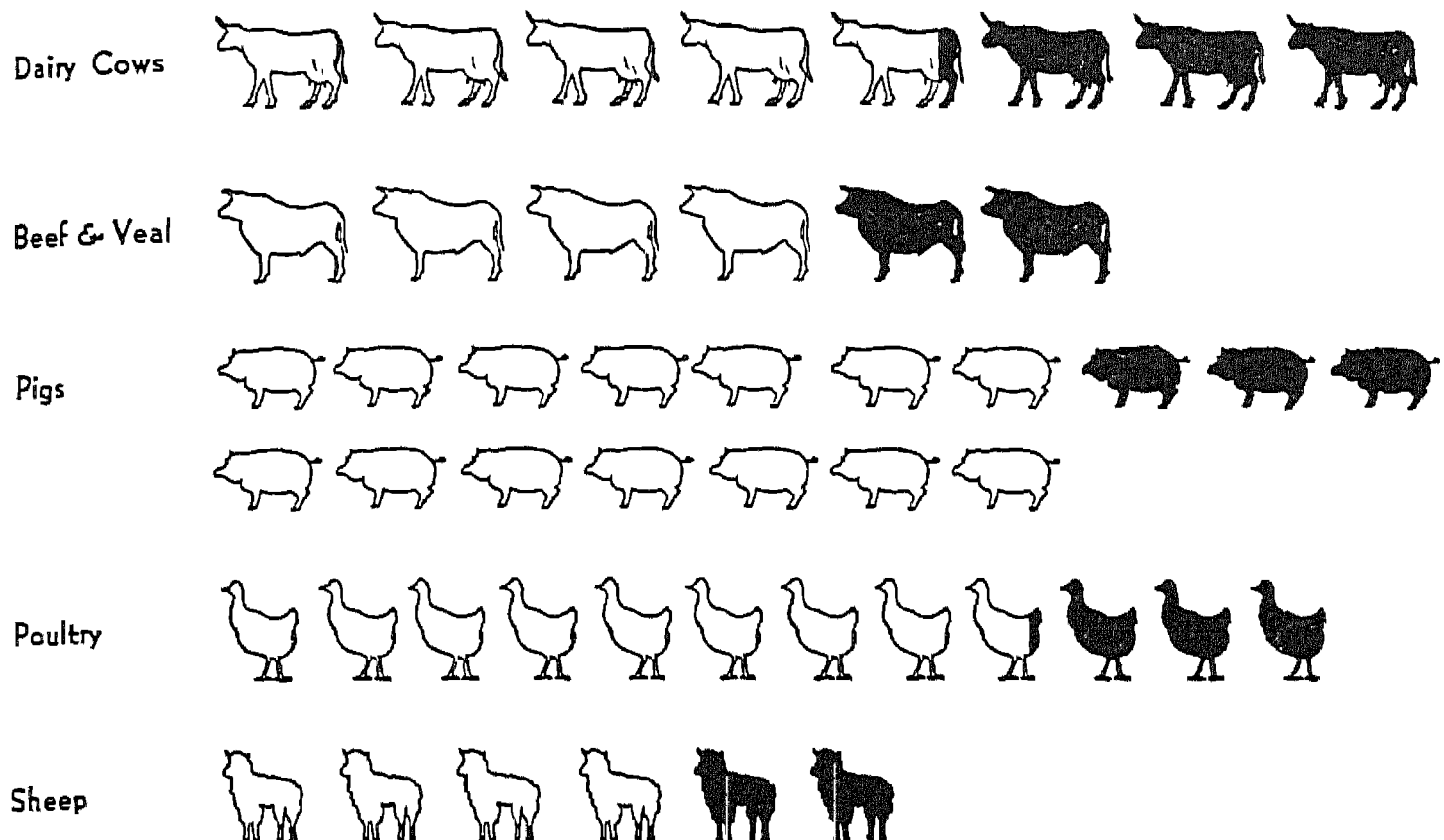
White Figures—What We Have

Black Figures—How Much More We Need

MEAT AND POULTRY

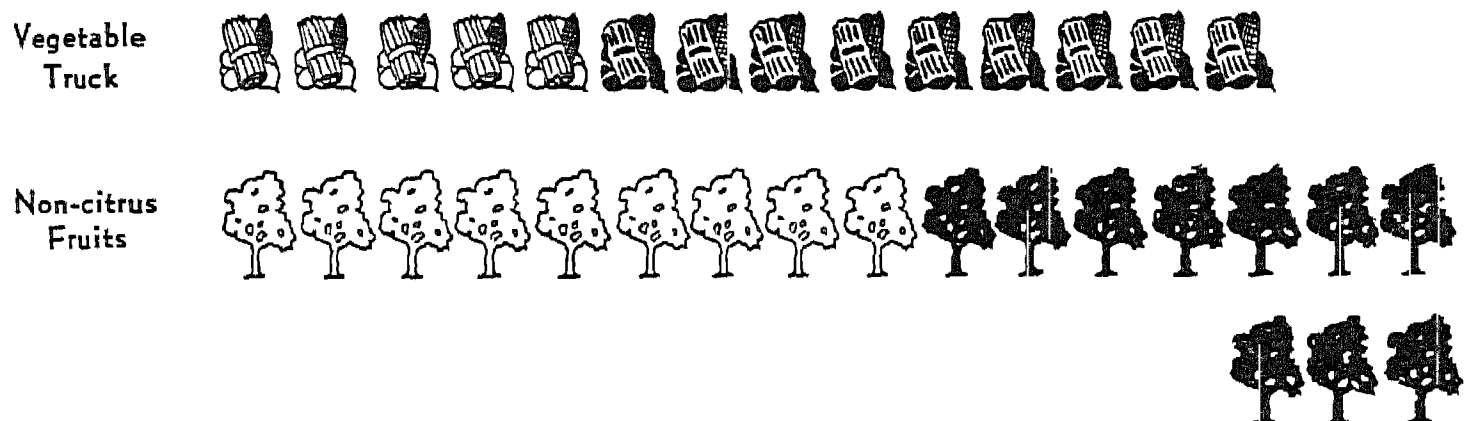
Each Animal — 5,000,000

Each Fowl — 50,000,000

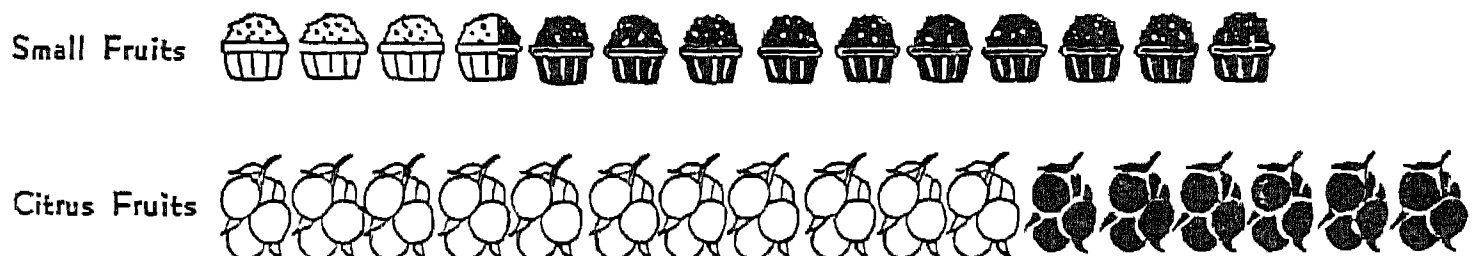


FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Each Figure — 500,000 Acres



Each Figure — 50,000 Acres



From Rich Man, Poor Man, by R. A. and O. P. Goslin, by permission of Harper and Brothers

*Were All the People in the United States to Have a Liberal Diet,
the Present Farm Surpluses Would Disappear. Farm Prosperity
Would, in Large Measure, Be Restored*

sufficient to overcome all the disadvantages under which the farm population is struggling.

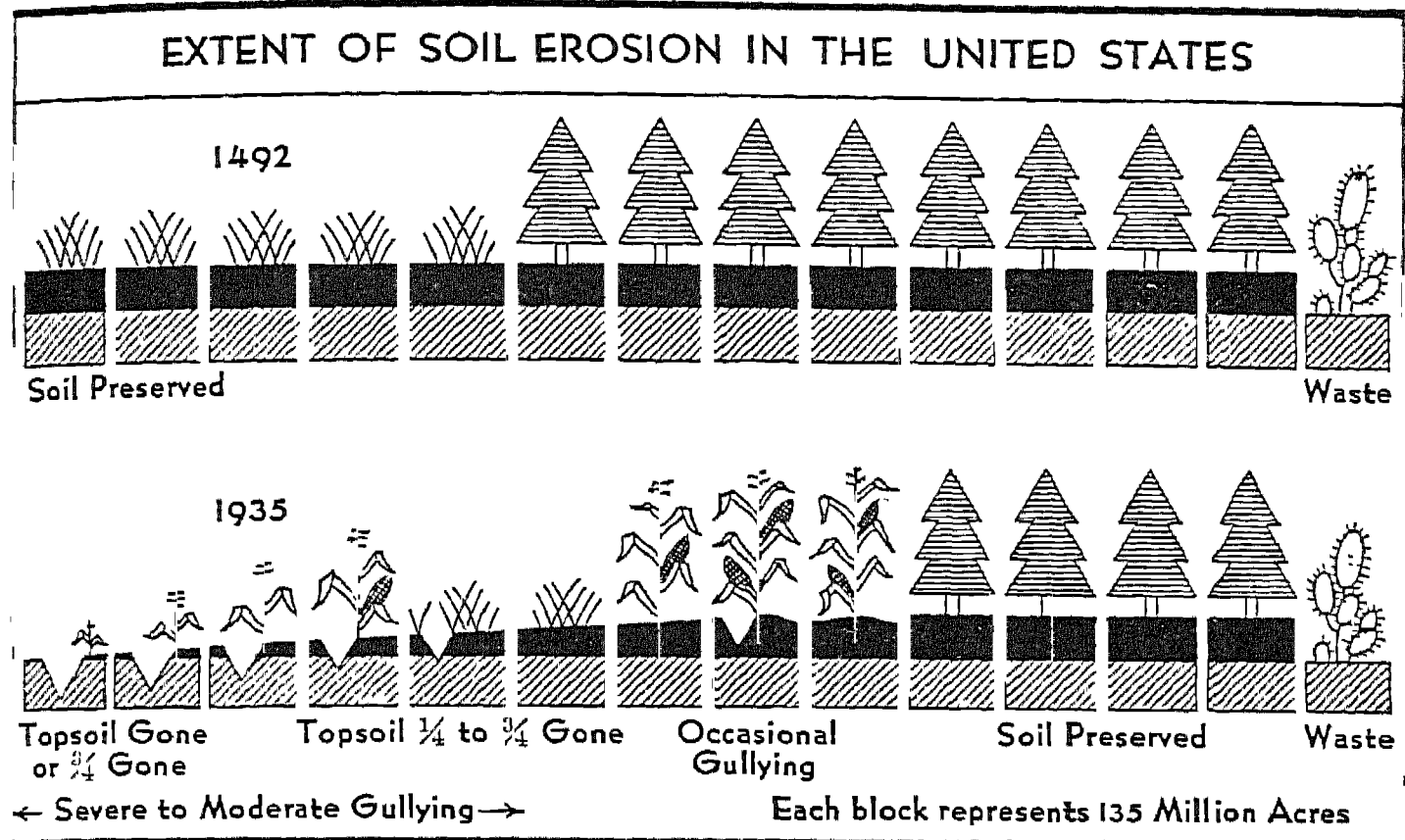
9. *There are too many farmers.* Modern methods and improved seed and livestock have raised the output of the farm worker 400 per cent in the last century and a half. Every year a smaller number of farmers is needed to supply the market. This is the real reason for the cityward drift. If farm production is to become continually more efficient (and this is necessary if consumers are to enjoy low prices and farmers to enjoy a fair standard of living), then most of the farmers' children must, as in the past, go to the city.

Because of unemployment in the city, millions of surplus young people have, since 1929, remained on the farms. Furthermore, millions who had left the farms previously have gone back. Consequently, there were 500,000 more farms in 1935 than in 1930, and nine per cent more farm people. On January 1, 1935, the farm population of the United States reached an all-time high. This huge increase in the number of farm people, without any marked increase in total farm income, means that the standard of living on farms has been very severely cut. Before it can be restored even to the level which prevailed in 1929, the surplus people must find non-agricultural employment.

III. The Destruction of Rural Resources

The Depletion of the Soil. American agriculture exploits the soil so recklessly that the process has been described as "soil mining." Practically all of the land now in crops or pasture has lost much of its original fertility. This means that it is less productive than formerly, and therefore gives a smaller return for the labor expended upon it. The loss of fertility has come about in two ways:

1. *Depletion by crop removal and leaching.* Crops,



© National Resources Board

“When the Soil Is Gone, Men Must Go,” said Theodore Roosevelt, “and the Process Does Not Take Long”

animals, and animal products (milk, eggs, meat, etc.) sold from the farms remove valuable elements from the soil. Soluble plant foods are also carried away, that is, leached, by drainage waters. Drainage has been increased by the destruction of the original forest or grass cover which tended to retain the water in the soil. These losses can be restored and maintained indefinitely by the application of chemical fertilizers, should it be profitable to use them. Cheaper fertilizers would therefore be a great boon to farmers struggling with exhausted soil. The Tennessee Valley Authority will produce cheap fertilizers for use by farmers in that region.

2. *Depletion by erosion.* In the South and Southwest, and in several parts of the West, erosion has ruined a great deal of once valuable crop land. By gullyng, washing, and dust storms, the top soil has been carried away. The replacement of top soil would require many centuries of careful management, hence we must concentrate our efforts on preventing further loss. Already half a billion acres have lost one fourth to three fourths

of the original top soil. This is twenty-seven per cent of the total area of the United States, or fifty-two per cent of all land in farms. In some areas of the United States erosion has brought about abject poverty. Nothing can restore prosperity to farmers cultivating poor soil. Unless erosion is vigorously combated, the rural population in a large part of the country will grow steadily poorer.

Submarginal Lands. In 1935 nearly a million farm families were on relief. Overproduction and low prices, and a faulty system of land tenure, were partly to blame for their situation. But most of these families were trying to wring a living from unproductive land. In certain counties in the southern Appalachians, one half to two thirds of the families were on relief. Throughout the South were large sections where a fourth of the farmers required aid. Elsewhere farmers who had taken over abandoned farms, or had squatted on cutover lands of low fertility, were found in dire straits.

Were it practicable to transfer these million families to better land and enable them to rent or buy it on favorable terms, their situation would be much improved. However, so long as our present crop surplus continues, this solution will be opposed by other farmers. The National Resources Board has recommended that 450,000 submarginal farms be retired in the next fifteen years. The Resettlement (now Farm Security) Administration was established to help some of the families living on submarginal lands to obtain more productive farms elsewhere. It is hoped that part-time employment can be found for them so that their farming operations may be confined to raising their own food supply.

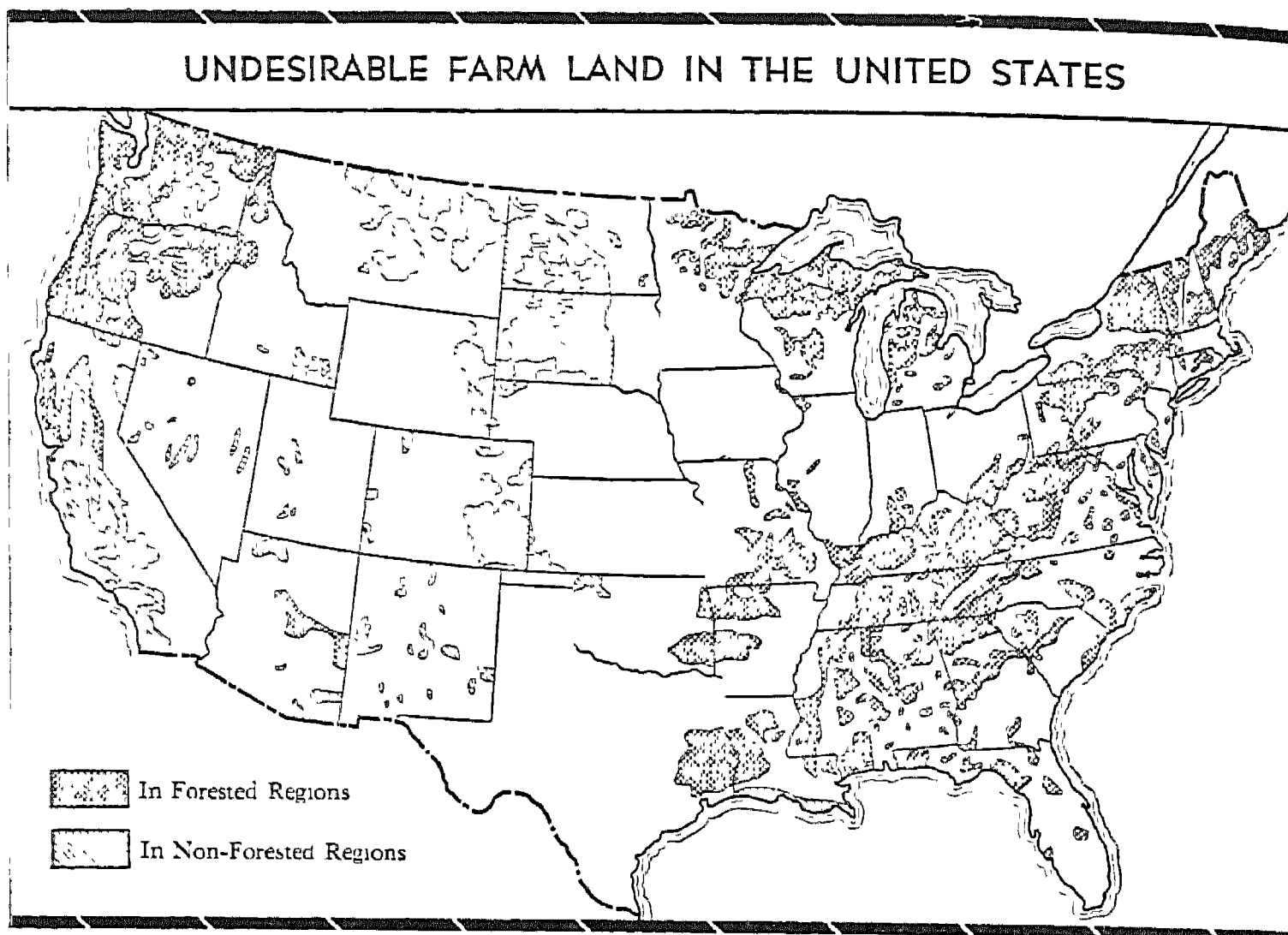
Economies Made Possible by Resettlement. The resettlement of these families would in many cases reduce the cost of providing them with schools, roads, mail, and other governmental services. The population on sub-

marginal lands is likely to be sparse. Much of the land has already been abandoned, leaving few people to pay taxes. Taxpayers in more favored regions have to make up the cost of furnishing the bare minimum of services.

In Meade County, Kentucky, is a stretch of poor farm land bordering the Ohio River. It is badly eroded. The local population had formerly earned a living from river traffic and from lumbering. Now that there is little traffic on the river, and the forests are gone, the people make a scanty existence from farming. Many have moved away. To maintain schools and roads in the area the county spends approximately \$1,800 a year more than the tax yield. The Farm Security Administration purchased 2,000 acres of this land. It is to be developed by the National Park Service as a recreation ground, since within fifty miles are several hundred thousand people needing outdoor playgrounds and camp sites. The present inhabitants will be assisted to locate elsewhere, thus saving the county \$1,800 a year. Soil erosion will be controlled. Near-by villages will benefit from the employment to be furnished by the park.

A study in fourteen northern Minnesota counties indicates that a large saving could be made by the purchase of 5,000 scattered farms located on inferior land. By expending \$4,636,000 to buy these farms there would be saved \$778,000 every year now being spent for schools, roads, fire fighting, and government. It is proposed to relocate these 5,000 families on better land in communities already provided with the essential roads, schools, and services. Studies in other states are revealing similar findings.

Land-Use Planning. In the past decade the idea of land-use planning has won widespread approval. The Supreme Court has upheld the right of a county to determine which lands (whether privately or publicly owned) shall be open to entrance as farm lands and



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Areas in Which It Appears Desirable to Encourage Permanent Retirement of a Substantial Part of the Arable Farm Land and Develop Constructive Use of the Land Not to Be in Farms

Agricultural occupation of many of these areas continues only by grace of continued public aid. Experience has demonstrated that the land is too poor to provide adequate family living and to support public institutions and services.

which shall be forested. Practically every state today has its planning board, and there are thousands of regional planning boards.

Land-use planning has several objectives:

1. *The concentration of farming on the more productive and better located lands.* The less desirable lands should be abandoned for farming and put to other uses. The scattering of population should be avoided, not only to reduce the rural tax burden but to enable farmers to obtain better community services.

2. *The prevention of soil erosion.* Vast areas of cut-over lands, also steep and infertile farm lands, should be returned to forest. This will not only save the soil, but

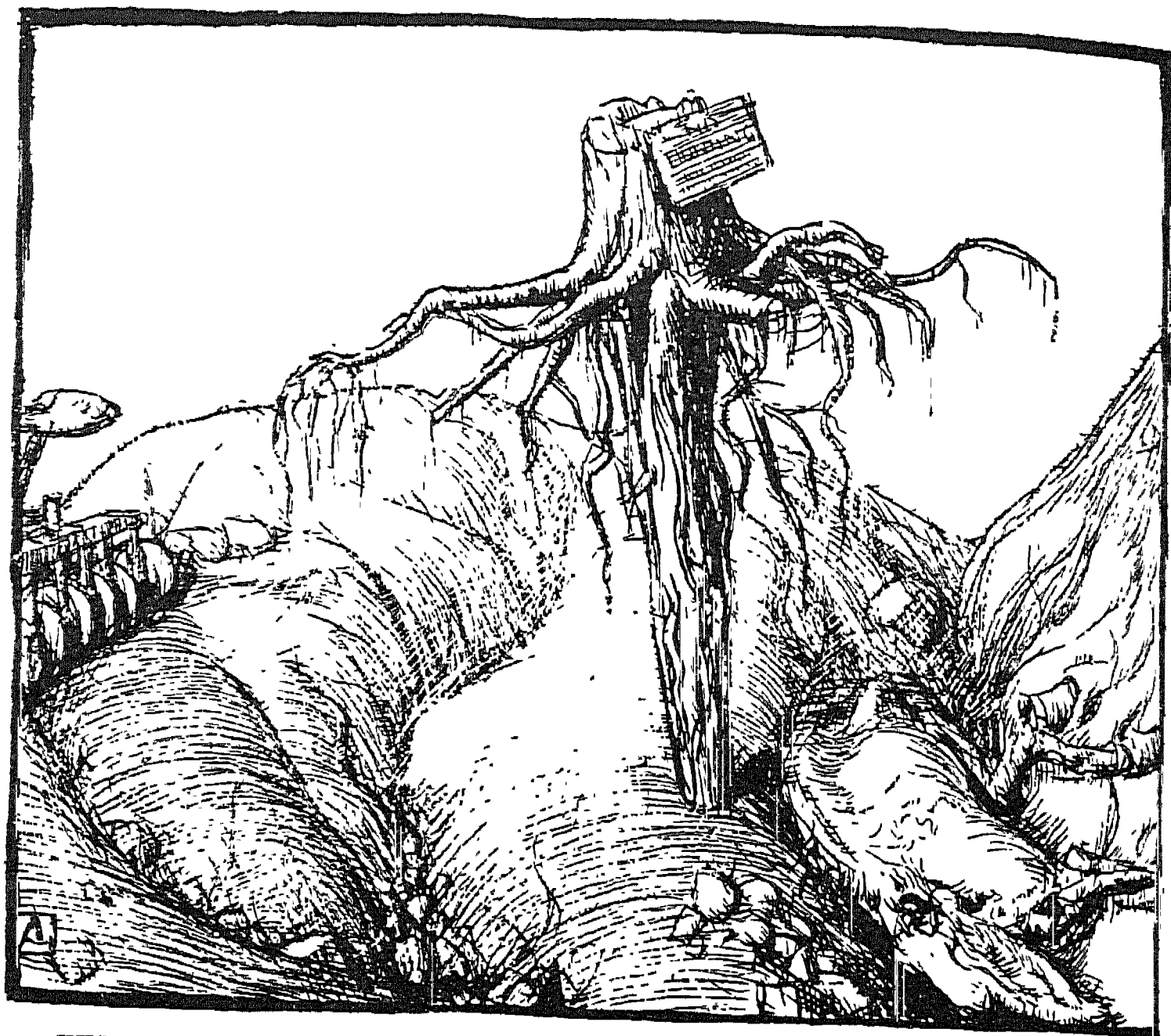
will extend the life of dams now rapidly filling with silt. Furthermore, by holding back the water from rain and melting snow, reforestation will help to control floods.

3. *The development of forest industries.* Living in or near the national forests alone are three fourths of a million people partly or wholly dependent on these forests. Fire protection, care of game, care of trees, maintenance of roads, camps, and picnic grounds, control of mosquitoes and forest pests, the cutting of lumber, and the grazing of livestock in the forest, call for many full- or part-time workers. The repurchase by the federal and state governments of large forest tracts now privately owned would insure their handling as a perennial crop — a perpetual source both of timber and of employment.

4. *The development of forested recreational areas near towns and cities.* Not far from every city should be a reservation suitable for camping, fishing, hiking, and winter sports. Our state and national parks have become a vacation land for millions. There is need for many more of these, especially in the East.

5. *The conservation of wild life.* Most kinds of wild life are rapidly disappearing from the United States. The earnings of trappers and fishermen are steadily shrinking. Those who hunt and fish for recreation are finding less game. There are also less tangible losses to be considered. The presence of wild life is one of the chief attractions of the out-of-doors. To allow it to be exterminated or even seriously diminished is to destroy what could be an unfailing source of human joy. If very many species of wild creatures are not in the present century to become extinct, steps must be taken on a nationwide scale. Numerous breeding areas must be set apart as sanctuaries forever closed to hunters.

6. *The proper location of buildings, highways, and railroads.* In the future these must not be located



THE SPECTER OF STARVATION THREATENS A BARREN LAND

indiscriminately. Wrongly located highways and railroads represent a tremendous social loss. The same is true of any costly building of a permanent nature. Occasionally a planning board may force the relocation of a business that is injurious to the community. In the famous Los Angeles decision, the Supreme Court upheld the right of that city to close a brickyard without compensation to its owner because it was wrongly located. The location of a new community is of vital concern to society; and so, on a smaller scale, is the location of a new farm. The tens of thousands of abandoned farms, the hundreds of abandoned communities, and the thousands of miles of abandoned railroads in the United States are proof of the need of long-range regional planning.

Conclusion. Three evils threaten the independence of the American farmer: (1) the tendency of farms to pass into the hands of a permanent landlord class, (2) the farmers' small share in the national income, and (3) the continuing destruction of the soil and the forests. In the United States practically nothing has been done about the first; the majority of the people are unaware of the situation. Nor has much that is lasting been done about the second; such legislation as Congress has passed has been experimental. A consistent farm policy has not yet been formulated. Perhaps, as in Denmark, the farmers will make progress less by legislation than by the establishment of great marketing, purchasing, and credit co-operatives. The third problem, the conservation of the soil and the forests, is being attacked by the state and federal governments.

These problems call for social planning on a colossal scale. Individuals and communities are powerless to deal with them. Apparently no organization less powerful than the federal government can take the necessary action. Before government can act successfully the people must be aroused and informed, and public opinion must take shape. It is the task of the farmers' organizations to see that public opinion does not remain indifferent.

WORD STUDY

cropper land-use planning renter submarginal

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why was farm tenancy not a cause for alarm during the 1800's?
2. What social and economic evils attend the growth of farm tenancy in the United States?
3. Where are most of the croppers found, and what do most of them raise? To what race do they belong?

4. What would be the objection to a large-scale program for enabling landless farmers to purchase farms?
5. Why does the American farmer receive so small a percentage of the consumer's food dollar? Is there any hope for improvement? Explain.
6. Discuss the cycle which the production of all agricultural commodities tends to follow.
7. How many additional acres of crops would be needed if all Americans could obtain a liberal diet? What is a liberal diet?
8. Is the cityward movement of farm youth to be encouraged? Explain.
9. What rural industries might be expanded to give part-time employment to surplus farm youth and to small farmers?
10. What is meant by the handling of timber as a perennial crop?
11. By what processes is the soil depleted?
12. How do submarginal farms create a social problem?
13. How can the settling of submarginal lands be prevented?
14. What are the principal aims to be considered in land-use planning?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Prepare a report on the work of the Farm Security Administration. If your school has motion-picture apparatus, show films furnished by the Administration.
2. Appoint a committee to report on what is now being done to control erosion of the soil. Printed matter, films, and pictures can be obtained from the United States Department of Agriculture, and perhaps also from your state college of agriculture or state agricultural experiment station.
3. Appoint a committee to report on the work of your state and regional planning boards. Find out their recommendations as to the use of rural lands.
4. Find out what legislation is being proposed by the American Farm Bureau Federation at Washington. Also obtain the legislative program of the Farmers' Union or some other national farm organization.

5. Investigate the achievements of agricultural co-operatives in the United States, particularly those in your own section or state.
6. Report on what the federal government is doing to assist tenants to buy farms.
7. Why does the farmer complain of his taxes? Can you find out whether the farmer's tax burden has increased or decreased in recent years?
8. Is tenancy a cause or a result of rural poverty?
9. Enumerate the causes of rural poverty. How can any of these causes be removed or mitigated?
10. What consequences will follow from the widespread use of a mechanical cotton picker?
11. If a large number of surplus farmers were to exist permanently on the poverty or subsistence level, what ill effect would this have on our national economic life?
12. Report on new industrial uses for farm crops.

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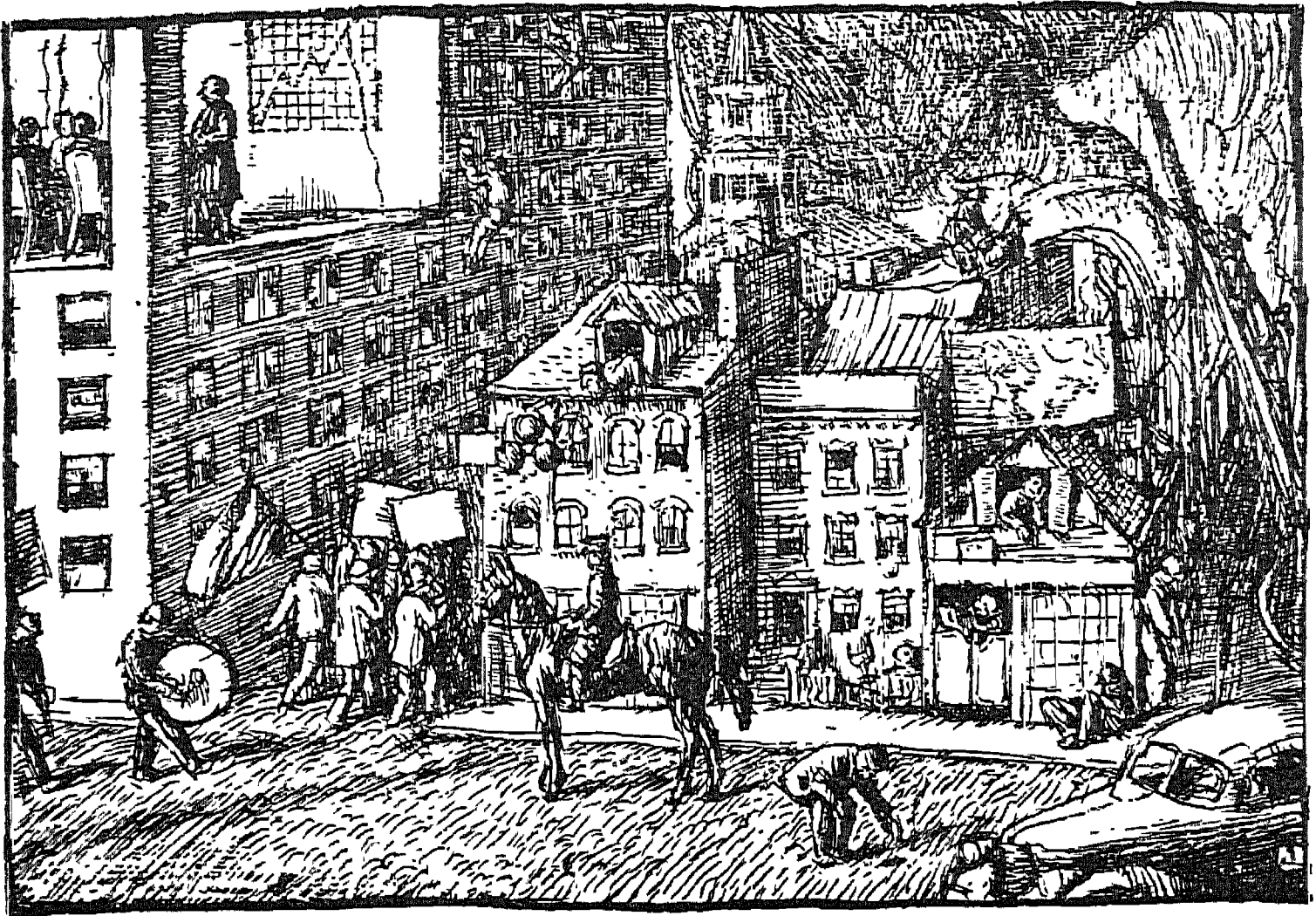
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UNIT X



THE ASCENDANT CITY

CHAPTER XIX. THE URBAN COMMUNITY. Characteristics of urban society: division of labor; multiplicity of personality types; social distance; secondary contacts replace primary contacts; mobility of population; attention to externals; fluidity of thought and custom. Some urban characteristics which create problems: insufficient birth rate; juvenile delinquency; dependent old age; unemployment; inadequate housing.

CHAPTER XX. THE METROPOLITAN TREND. The rise of city regionalism. How the metropolitan trend is affecting the distribution of population. Segregation of various groups within the metropolis. How shall the metropolis be governed?

CHAPTER XXI. PLANNING THE CITY. The spread of city planning. Economic arguments for city planning. Making the city more livable.

CHAPTER XIX

THE URBAN COMMUNITY

Why do city dwellers give so much attention to "keeping up a front?"

Why does social control in the city depend so much upon law-enforcement agencies and so little upon social approval and disapproval?

How does the city maintain its numbers?

Can we meet the housing problem?

ANY GENERAL CHARACTER, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means; which means are, to a great extent, at the command and under the control of those who have influence in the affairs of men.

ROBERT OWEN

Importance of the City. Western culture is dominated by the city. Most of its people are city dwellers, and the rest live, so far as they are able, by city patterns. From the city comes leadership in practically every human activity. It is the city which sets the standards by which every achievement is measured. It controls the agencies which form public opinion, and it has the deciding voice in politics.

Characteristics of Urban Society

Wherever people are occupied in nonagricultural pursuits, even in a village, there the urban type of culture develops. Urban culture is based on trade and manufacturing. It attracts a relatively dense population. Elaborate social organization grows up, replacing the simpler social relations of farmers. Urban people are more dependent on each other than on nature; they

give much of their attention to the manipulation of other human beings. They acquire a polish and worldly wisdom that set them apart from farmers. They are proud of their *urbane* manners, and regard others as rustics.

Let us examine briefly some of the principal characteristics of urban culture.

Division of Labor. More than any other single feature, the city is distinguished by its division of labor. The city dweller is a specialist. The larger the city, the greater is the variety of its occupations, and the more narrowly must each worker specialize. Once a person enters a particular line of work, whether by accident or his own choice, he must concentrate his energies on becoming expert. After a while he acquires the special vocabulary, thought patterns, and manners of his occupation.

Multiplicity of Personality Types. The division of labor selects and emphasizes individual differences. Talents which would have little or no chance to develop in a farm community are exalted in the city into a means of livelihood. Instead of the all-round persons, each like his neighbors, to be found in a pre-urban culture, the city has hundreds of distinct types. There are the policeman, bartender, pawnbroker, ward boss, peddler, taxicab driver, shopgirl, strikebreaker, labor agitator, corporation president, reporter, architect, comedian — each with a special vocational experience and point of view. Because of the great number of unlike types of people, the city dweller tends to be much more conscious of his own group than he is of the community. He associates mostly with those like himself, and has little insight into the lives and interests of most of the others. Urban culture is not homogeneous; it is composed of many more or less unlike culture complexes. (See pp. 23–24.)

Social Distance. The lack of fellow feeling and understanding between members of different groups is known as *social distance*. In a primitive culture there is no social distance between the members of a single community or tribe; all are aware of their likeness to each other. As a society becomes urbanized, class differences are accentuated and social distance is much in evidence. In the large modern city it is conspicuous in the relations of employer and laborer, landlord and tenant, native-born and immigrant, white and black, Oriental and Occidental, manual worker and brain worker. (This phenomenon of social distance exists in spite of the interdependence of urban dwellers.) There is also distance between the various rural groups and classes, but it is never so great as in the city. When misfortune strikes a rural family, the neighbors are quick to assist. In the city, neighborhood ties scarcely exist. So great is the social distance even between families in the same apartment house that assistance often has to be given indirectly through government or social welfare agencies. The pronounced distance between social classes in the city, and the contrast, visible to all, between the lives of the rich and the poor, help to explain why radical movements usually begin in the city rather than in the country.

Secondary Contacts Replace Primary Contacts. The intimate face-to-face meetings of people who know each other well are *primary* contacts. They satisfy the craving for response and afford most of the deepest satisfactions of life. Social approval and disapproval are strongly expressed in primary contacts; the individual will strive to conform to what his close companions expect. Nowhere is social control so strong as in the primary groups — the family, the rural neighborhood, and the small circle of near friends.

In the city most of the contacts are *secondary*, that

is, they occur between individuals who meet at only one or two points of their lives. Secondary contacts are formal, transient, impersonal. They are but means to an end. Such are the meetings of store clerk and customer, of workman and plant superintendent, of traffic officer and pedestrian, of postman and householder, of the patient and the doctor at the clinic, of the listener and the lecturer. A host of other contacts between city men are either entirely empty, as between the riders on a subway train, or are part way between primary and secondary contacts. They involve little or no expression of approval and disapproval; therefore they do not help enforce the morals of the group. For this reason social control in the city depends mostly upon the law. The responsibility for enforcing right conduct is placed increasingly upon the government.

Dependence upon Government. In an urban society the individual is completely dependent on conditions not within his control. He must look to the government to safeguard the supply of food and water, maintain sanitation, fight disease and fire and crime, inspect buildings, police traffic, settle strikes, and care for him when he is in need. Without the constant watchfulness of government, life in cities would be impossible. The very helplessness of the individual forces the urban government to assume, one after another, duties unknown to rural government — duties which rural dwellers can perform for themselves.

Mobility. City dwellers change their homes and their jobs, their schools, their churches, their clubs, and their associates in a way quite unparalleled in rural society. According to the records of the gas and electric companies, the average New York family spends less than two years at one address. Not only is there constant shifting about within any one city but between cities as well. A certain amount of mobility makes for individual



EVIL LURKS WHERE MOBILITY IS GREATEST

and social progress. It also serves the need for new experience and gives a sense of freedom. But mobility is the enemy of those stable, secure relationships which human beings crave. He who is always changing his associates lacks anyone upon whom he can depend. He wastes his energy trying to adjust himself to too many situations and too many groups, and finds satisfaction nowhere. He may become confused and even demoralized. The area of greatest mobility in a city is always characterized by the prevalence of vice, crime, poverty, mental disease, divorce, wife desertion, abandonment of infants, and suicide.

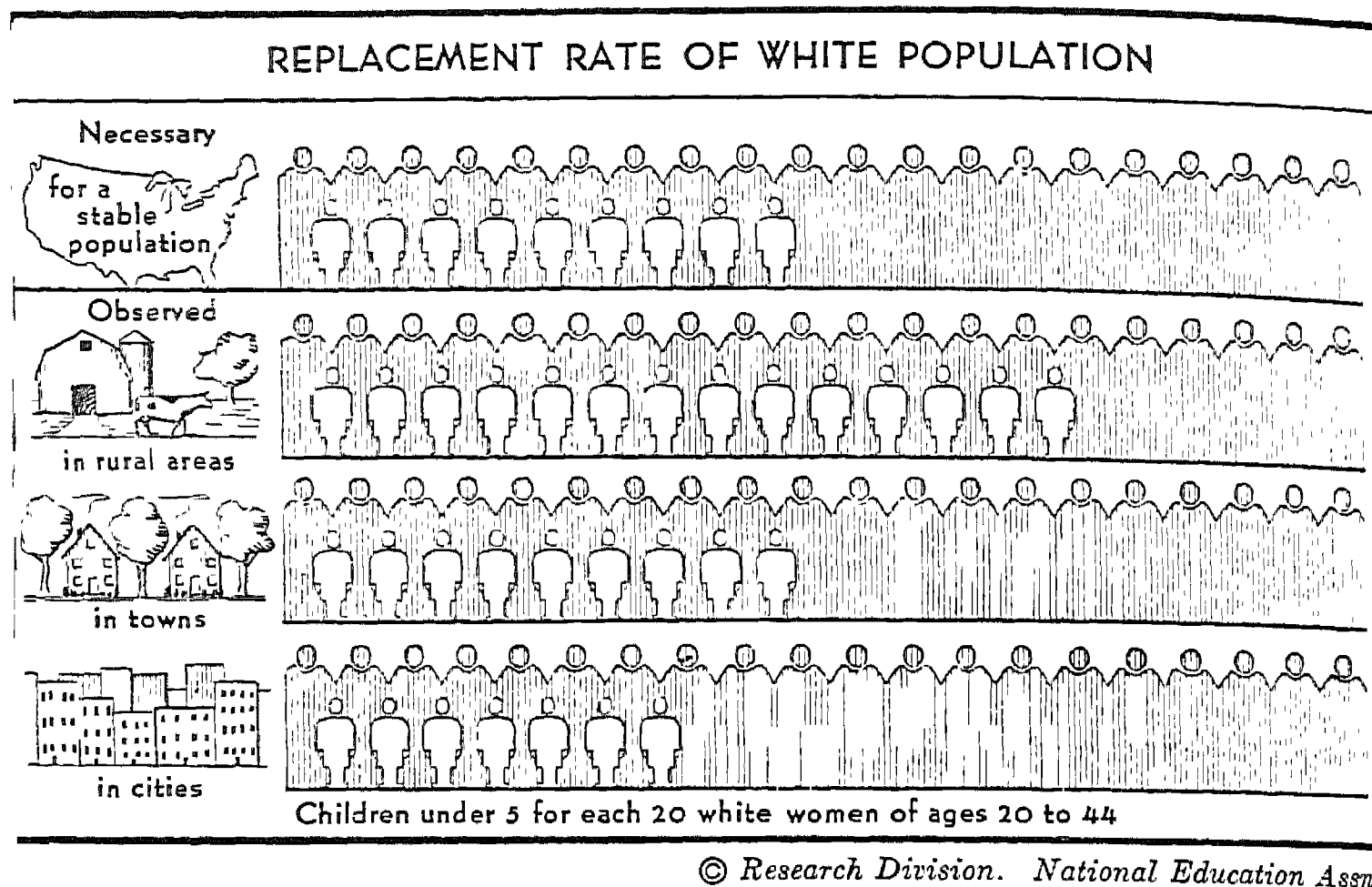
Attention to Externals. In the city the individual's status is determined in large measure by external show. If his "front" is correct he will be accepted by those with whom he wants to associate. Therefore he studies

style and manners. Form tends to become more important than content. If the outward appearance is respectable, few will examine the rightness or wrongness of a man's behavior. Not so in rural society, where the individual's true status is common knowledge. The country dweller is not so easily impressed by mere form. "Handsome is as handsome does" expresses the rural point of view. Fashionable dress and conspicuous consumption are therefore not so highly rated in the country as in the city.

Fluidity of Thought and Custom. The mingling of many nationalities and many types of men causes old thought patterns to lose rigidity. Nothing seems sacred merely because it is traditional. The necessity for continual alertness, the intense competition, the vast number of contacts, the need to adjust to ever-changing situations, encourage mental activity. Ideas are therefore exceptionally fluid in the city. Everyone is forced to adopt an experimental attitude toward his environment. For this reason the average city man is more rational and less governed by tradition, more progressive and less set in his ways, than the average rural dweller. He has more initiative, is more willing to try new things. He is perhaps too easily persuaded to champion a new doctrine. Not all the ideas that sweep a city are sound, and not all the initiative of city men is addressed toward the social welfare. "Half-baked" political schemes and new varieties of crime generally have their origin in the city. The rural dweller is more cautious, slower to abandon the customary, less eager for experiment.

Some Urban Characteristics Which Create Problems

1. *The insufficient birth rate.* The number of children born annually to each thousand people is known as the *birth rate*. This rate is invariably much higher

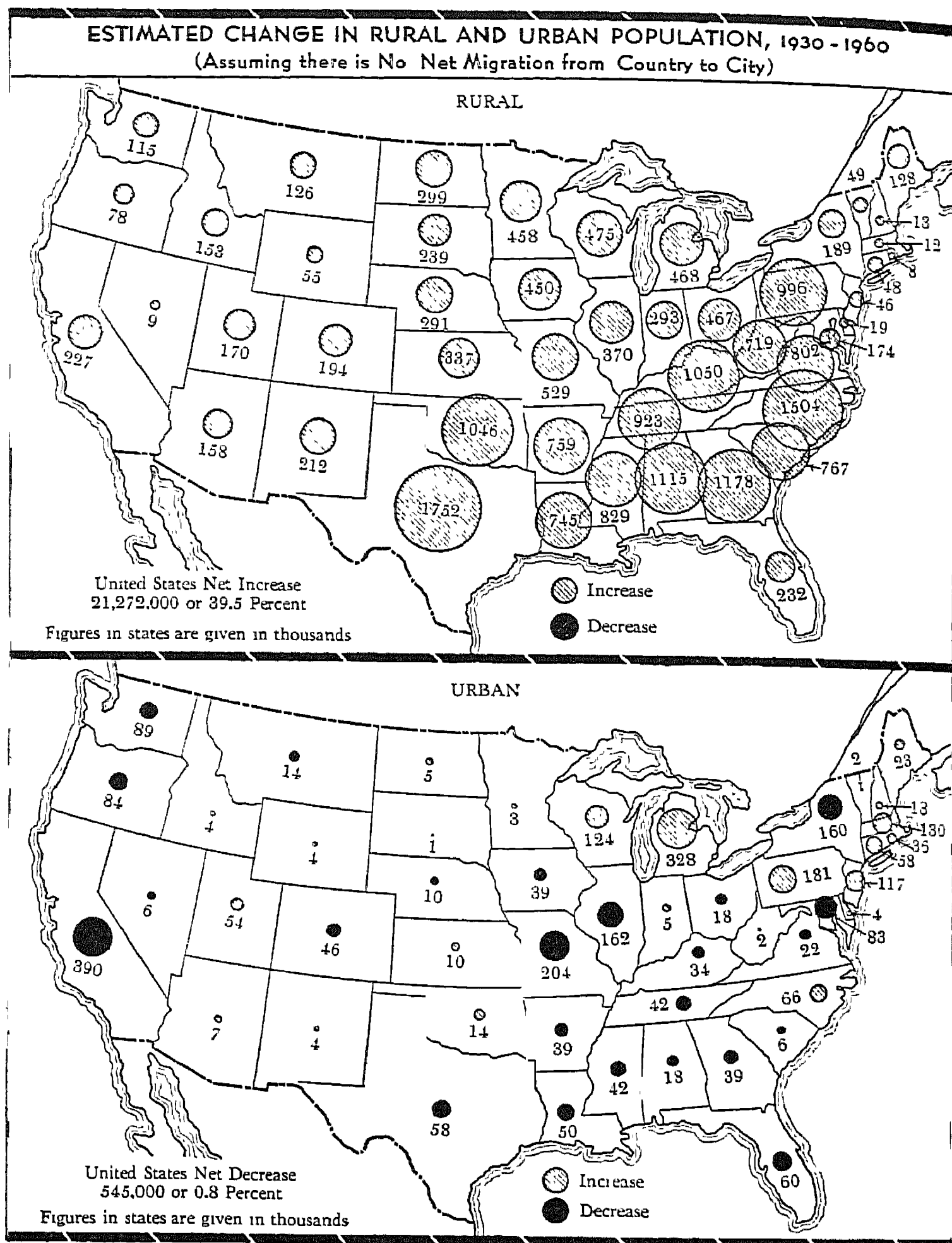


This Pictograph Shows That Cities Have Too Few Children to Maintain a Stable Population. They Must Attract the Surplus Rural Youth

among farmers than among city dwellers. One reason is that farm dwellers marry at an earlier age. Since the period of greatest fertility is in the late 'teens and early twenties, more children will be born to the younger couples. Another reason is that children are usually considered an economic advantage on the farm; their labor will add to the farm income. In the city, children are a serious economic burden. There are fewer desertions and divorces among farm families, and this also affects the birth rate. Another explanation of the lower birth rate of city dwellers lies in their attitude toward the having of children. They are less inclined to consider it a duty to raise a family. Among certain city groups it is unfashionable to have more than one or two children, or even to have any. Those whose religion encourages large families have a higher birth rate than other urban groups. The Hebrews, although for centuries an urban people, have a high birth rate.

Cities maintain their numbers only by attracting young people from the country. In 1930 in American cities of 100,000 and over, the number of children under five years of age lacked twenty per cent of the number required to maintain a stationary population. In cities of 100,000 down to 2,500 population, the deficit of children was seven per cent. In the rural non-farm population, most of whom live in villages, there were thirty per cent more children than sufficient to maintain a stationary population. Among the farm families the surplus of children was fifty per cent. Plainly the cities can maintain themselves only with recruits from the villages and farms. If the relative proportion of rural dwellers continues to decline, it is probable that our total population will in a few decades begin to diminish. At least it is very unlikely that it will continue to grow.

These facts suggest two conclusions: First, it is to the interest of the city to make sure that the stream of rural young people shall be well prepared. Most of the surplus children today are living in regions of unusually low income. As we have seen, thirteen per cent of the children of the United States live in the Southeastern states; their parents receive only two per cent of the national income. Little money can be raised there for schools and public health. Moreover, in these areas the proportion of children to adults is very high. Without a great deal more help than these regions are now getting from state and federal funds, they cannot produce the efficient workers needed in cities. (See pp. 296-299.) Second, everything possible should be done to enable urban dwellers to marry earlier and to raise more children. Colleges and professional schools might lift their rules forbidding students to marry. Cheaper housing, cheaper medical service for those of moderate income, more general provision of nursery schools, and other measures for lessening the financial burden of parents



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Without Migration from Rural to Urban Areas the Urban Population in Most States Would Be Smaller in 1960 Than It Is Today, While the Rural Population Would Increase in Every State

would certainly be helpful. The family wage system, by which a worker is paid in proportion to the number of his dependents, might deserve consideration. Any-

thing that will promote security should tend to offset the declining birth rate.

2. *Juvenile delinquency.* The great majority of juvenile delinquents are city-born. Most of them come from the slums, where the poor cannot protect themselves from association with the derelict and the vicious. From crowded homes where there is no chance to play, the boys go to the street. In the poolrooms, the ten-cent movies, the saloons, the penny museums, and the back alleys, they are thrown into contact with depraved men and women. Often they form gangs, and find excitement in outwitting the police. It is not only in their search for recreation that these boys are lured into stealing and vice. Many are employed in the street trades after school, sometimes until late at night. Thus they are exposed to grave moral hazards.

Where Juvenile Delinquents Live. It has been shown that the rate of juvenile delinquency is always higher in the more congested and impoverished areas of a city. On the maps of seven cities concentric circles were drawn. The innermost circle was designated as Zone I,

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY RATES BY ZONES FROM CENTER OF CITY OUTWARD ^a

City	Number of cases	Width of zones (miles)	Rates by zones ^b				
			I	II	III	IV	V
Chicago	8,141	2	10.3	7.3	4.4	3.5	
Philadelphia	5,856	1.5	11.6	6.8	4.4	3.5	3.4
Cleveland	4,978	1.5	18.3	10.2	7.8	7.0	5.1
Richmond, Va.	1,238	1	19.7	12.2	6.4		
Birmingham, Ala.	990	1	14.1	6.9	6.4		
Denver	1,291	1	9.4	7.1	4.2	3.7	3.2
Seattle	1,529	1	19.1	9.7	7.6	6.1	

^a From *Recent Social Trends*, p. 469. McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933.

^b Percentage of boys ten to fifteen years of age in each area brought to the Juvenile Court on petitions alleging delinquency.

the next as Zone II, and the third as Zone III. Of course the slums do not fall wholly within any zone so neatly marked off. Yet the delinquency rates of the several zones vary in a remarkable manner. It is plain that the middle-class suburbs have a virtuous influence, for their delinquency rate is only a third or a half of the rate in the innermost zone. The statistics are given in the table on page 427.

Who Are the Delinquents? There seems to be a close connection between inadequate family income and the delinquency rate. In most cases delinquent children come from families of more than average size. At best, a wage earner with several young children will have difficulty in providing for them. If he is a Negro or is foreign-born, his earnings will probably fail to maintain the family in health and decency. A study of cases brought before the juvenile court of Cook County, Illinois, revealed over three fourths of the families to be in wretched circumstances.

	<i>Per cent of boys</i>	<i>Per cent of girls</i>
Very poor families	38.2	68.8
Poor families	37.9	21.0
Fairly comfortable	21.2	7.6
Quite comfortable	1.7	1.3

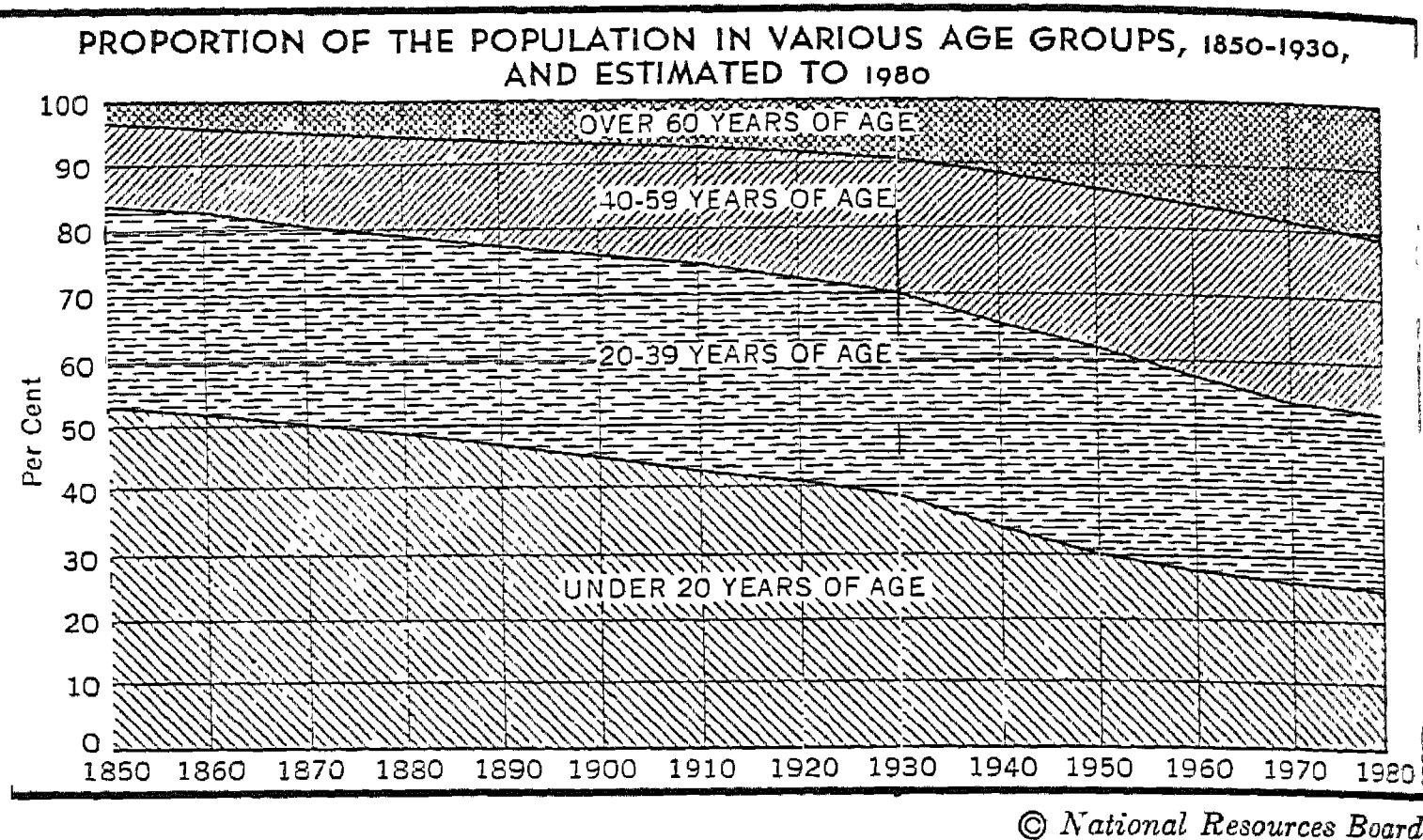
Slum dwellers are, for the most part, foreign-born. Now foreign-born adults have a lower crime rate than native-born adults. However, the native-born children of foreign parents have a very high delinquency rate. This is partly because the foreign-born cannot provide so good conditions for their children as can those who have lived here longer, and partly because the children of aliens, learning to despise their parents for their poor English and foreign ways, usually break away from parental control. Those foreigners who escape from the slums and settle in a middle-class area have few delin-

quent children. Thirty years ago many delinquent children in Chicago were Germans and Swedes. As these nationalities went up the economic scale and moved into a more wholesome environment, their juvenile delinquency rate dropped noticeably. Newer immigrants from southern Europe took their places in the slums and began to supply a large proportion of the city's child delinquents.

The Long-Range Attack on Crime. Practically all adult criminals begin as juvenile delinquents. For this reason the long-range attack on crime must be chiefly directed toward preventing those conditions that distort the lives of children. Nothing, perhaps, is so important as insuring an adequate and continuous wage to the head of every family with children. Next in importance, probably, is the provision of good housing and abundant opportunities for wholesome play in the now congested districts. There is no reason to suppose that the delinquency rate cannot be substantially reduced.

3. *Dependent old age:* The proportion of the population older than sixty-five is steadily increasing. In 1870 it was 3.4 per cent, and in 1930 it was 5.4 per cent. By 1975 it is thought that the aged will make up ten to thirteen per cent of the total population. At the same time the proportion of the aged who are gainfully employed is rapidly falling. Whereas in 1890 only 26.2 per cent of those over sixty-five were not gainfully employed, in 1930 41.7 per cent were not. This reflects the declining proportion of persons self-employed in agriculture, handicrafts, and trade.

With advancing age, workers are more likely to remain unemployed, for many employers will not take on anyone past his physical prime. A survey of firms employing three million workers revealed that forty per cent of the firms employing sixty per cent of the workers had definite age limits when hiring. The age limit was



The Proportion of Old People Is Rising Rapidly

Society, both rural and urban, must face the problem of dependent old age. The aged are less productive in the city than in the country.

seldom higher than forty-five, often was forty, and in some lines of work was thirty-five.

In the days of domestic economy the aged were useful so long as they retained strength to work. Among rural dwellers the aged still can usually keep busy about the house and grounds. Although they may earn no money, they can make some contribution to the upkeep of the home. But in the city the average home has neither room nor labor for the aged relative. Urban society is not organized to use the old productively.

Old-Age Pensions and Insurance. Since the great majority of the aged are dependent on others, society has been forced to recognize the problem. By the middle of 1934 twenty-eight states had passed old-age pension laws, and by the end of that year 231,000 needy aged persons were on the pension rolls. The average monthly pension was, however, but \$16.16. At this time 750,000 other old people were receiving direct relief from the federal government.

In order to encourage the remaining states to provide for the aged, Congress in 1935 passed the Social Security Act. Under this act compulsory old-age insurance will be established for most gainfully employed workers. The cost is to be met by a tax on both employers and employees. Agricultural laborers, domestic servants, government employees, and those employed by non-profit-seeking organizations are not to be insured. To protect those not covered by old-age insurance, including those who are self-employed, the act also provides for assistance or pensions to the needy aged. The federal government will match the amount paid by the state and local governments, its share, however, not to exceed \$15 a month for each pensioner. It is believed that the pension will enable many needy old people to remain in their own homes who would otherwise have to go to a poorhouse.

4. *Unemployment.* The transformation from an agricultural to an industrial economy has brought one of the gravest evils of our time — unemployment. Once the worker has been cut off from the soil, he no longer has control over the means of livelihood. He is at the mercy of economic forces which he can neither influence nor comprehend. Not only has the chance to grow his own food disappeared, but also, for the most part, his chance to employ himself in a handicraft or a little store. The percentage of the population who are self-employed is steadily shrinking. This is the day of chain stores and large-scale business. Mechanization and the concentration of control — the same forces that have encouraged the growth of cities — have wiped out the bulk of the opportunities for self-employment.

The way to cure unemployment is to stabilize industry in such a way as to assure its continuous operation and steady expansion, and to use all the people in doing society's work. This must be our goal. Meanwhile

society is obliged to care for the unemployed. This is done by one of two methods:

a. Poor relief — the ancient, grudging aid to those in extreme need. To be eligible the individual must first have exhausted all his own resources. In the past this meant that he must have surrendered his life insurance and sold his possessions. If he has a relative who can be made to take him in or contribute to his support, or if he has a child who can go to work, he is not eligible. Cherished life-plans are thus torn to pieces. When poor relief robs the needy of hope and of self-respect, it creates paupers. In recent years there has been a tendency to soften the requirements, that the needy person might not undergo the mental deterioration of pauperism. The needy are no longer, as a rule, refused assistance because they own a little property or have a life insurance policy; at least this is true in the more enlightened communities. Work relief is by many considered preferable to direct relief. Although it costs about twice as much, it helps preserve self-respect.

b. Social insurance. Under an insurance plan the unemployed worker receives benefits as a *right*. There is no pauper test and no stigma. Many modern countries have long had a system of unemployment insurance. In some systems the cost is borne wholly by employers, in others by the employers and employees, and in some partly by the government. Under the Social Security Act of 1935 the United States has made a beginning toward insurance against unemployment. In those states which vote to co-operate with the federal government, compensation will be paid to certain of the unemployed. The cost will be met by a federal tax on payrolls, doubtless to be passed along to consumers. Unless an employer has at least eight workers for at least twenty weeks in the year, he will pay no tax. Moreover, the tax does not apply to workers in agriculture,

domestic service in a private home, shipping, federal and state services, and non-profit-making organizations. The states which have so far passed legislation entitling them to share in the proceeds from the payroll tax have limited compensation to a short period — twelve to sixteen weeks — and to a small amount — generally fifty per cent or less of the weekly wages at which the individual had worked.

Undoubtedly the entire scheme will be revised from time to time in the light of experience. A way should be found to provide insurance for workers in every occupation. It is desirable that employers who stabilize their operations and keep their force employed the year around should be rewarded. Eligibility rules and compensation rates should probably be made uniform in the various states. No country has achieved a successful system of unemployment insurance all at once. Public opinion must be clearer and better informed before we shall have an adequate plan.

5. *Inadequate housing.* Next to its income, nothing so influences the life of a family as its house. There is a close connection between health and housing. Overcrowded homes have twice as high an infant mortality rate as ones not crowded, and a much higher sickness and death rate among all ages. Lack of air and sunlight and proper heating is favorable to such diseases as rickets, colds, tuberculosis, diphtheria, and pneumonia. In fact, bad housing means lowered vitality, which makes the occupants more susceptible to every kind of disease germ. Naturally disease spreads rapidly from one person to another when a house lacks proper sanitation, and from household to household in crowded tenements lacking adequate plumbing. Epidemics usually begin in the worst-housed sections of a community.

Housing affects morals. In overcrowded homes where there is no chance for privacy, and especially when



IN SUCH A HOME THERE IS NO ROOM FOR PRIVACY AND
DIGNITY IN PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

there are lodgers or boarders, moral hazards are high. Decency requires a certain amount of privacy and dignity in personal relationships. The delinquency rate is several times higher in districts where the housing is particularly bad.

*Less than half the houses of America measure up to minimum standards of health and decency. Yet this is the standard below which no American family should be expected to fall. It does not include electric light, nor central heat.¹ It does include: healthful surroundings; ample and pure running water *inside* the house; a modern sanitary toilet for the exclusive use of the*

¹ The United States Bureau of Labor includes a bathtub in the minimum standard, but the National Conference of Charities and Correction, which in 1912 drew up the requirements given above, did not include a bathtub. Thirty per cent of city homes are still without a bathtub; twenty per cent have neither bathtub nor shower.

family and located *inside* the house; rooms of sufficient size and number to give necessary privacy to the members of the family; sunlight and ventilation and freedom from dampness; adequate fire protection; prompt, adequate collection of waste materials; reasonable nearness to the place of employment; a rental not to exceed twenty per cent of the family income. (See pp. 251–253 and pp. 381–383.)

Both in city and country a large proportion of the houses fall far below these simple standards. Probably the effects of bad housing are more serious in the city because of the congestion. At any rate the cities are much more aware of the problem than are rural communities. Almost everything that has been done to improve bad housing in the United States has been done in the cities.

Slum Dwellings. In most of the cities of the United States stand miserable slums, said by housing experts to be as bad as any in the world. One fourth of the people of New York, for example, still live in wretched tenements built in a manner declared illegal since 1902. At the present rate of destruction, it will take 138 years to get rid of them. These tenements have over 200,000 rooms without windows to the outer air. Frequently a hall toilet is shared by as many as twenty-five people. Similar conditions are common in practically every other American city. Backyard toilets shared by several families are numerous in such representative cities as Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Los Angeles. Most cities have sections where neither city water nor city sewers penetrate. Those who do not live in these substandard dwellings are seldom aware of the bad conditions that exist. Slum buildings may look decent enough on the outside. In the large cities many of the poor live in brick or brownstone houses once occupied by the well-to-do. When

these were divided into tenements, private plumbing for each family was not installed, and the rooms were cut up in such a way that some were left without windows. To the casual passer-by nothing seems to be wrong with these houses.

Causes of Bad Housing. The chief cause of poor housing is the fact that the majority of families cannot afford to live in good homes. In 1929 the average city family in the United States had an income of \$1,900; the most it could afford to pay for rent was therefore \$32 a month. Sixty per cent of city families do in fact pay less than \$35 a month rent. But for \$35 or less a month it is very difficult to find good housing in a large city. To help meet the rent many city families take in lodgers, although this usually means overcrowding.

Several elements go to make up the excessive cost of housing. The most important of these are:

a. Speculative values for land. As a city grows, those who own land in the city reap an enormous unearned increment. That is, their property increases manyfold in value without any effort on their part. As the value of the land goes up, the owner is able to ask higher rents. Under a different system of taxation unearned increment would go to the city rather than to property owners. However, it is unlikely that our tax system will be changed in this regard for a long time to come, and it could not justly be applied to reduce the existing level of land values, but only to prevent a further rise. The fact that our population will soon become stationary may tend to hold land values in most cities from a marked advance over their present level.

b. The high taxes on real property. The American city receives seventy-five to eighty per cent of its income from real estate taxes. Other forms of property, including stocks and bonds, are taxed lightly or not at all. The income received from real estate is about

twenty-five per cent of the national income, yet real estate pays fifty-five to sixty per cent of all taxes.

c. Waste in the building industry. Mr. Hoover's Commission on Waste estimated, in 1923, that of every dollar spent on building, fifty-three cents was wasted. One source of waste is the vast assortment of sizes and styles in building materials. There are over 1,200 patterns of locks, 19,238 sizes of valves and pipe fittings, 139 sizes and kinds of paint brushes, 400 sizes and styles of windows, 75 dimensions of face brick, and 150 different strengths of window glass. Another source of waste is the custom of requiring free estimates from subcontractors. On a large job 300 subcontractors may submit bids. The cost of these estimates may be as much as twenty per cent of the total cost of the job; the purchaser, on this job or the next, eventually bears the burden.

Another waste is due to the seasonal character of the building industry. Three quarters of all building is crowded into four months of the year. Among other losses this makes for a huge and costly labor turnover. One workman was hired 107 times by seventy-six different contractors in five and a half years. Yet the Hoover Committee on Unemployment in 1924 found that winter construction work is quite possible, and stated that "the seasonal character of the construction industries is a matter of custom and habit, not of climatic conditions."

A fourth source of waste is racketeering. Labor unions in the building trades are often forced to pay heavy tribute to racketeers. The building codes are made to yield graft to corrupt politicians. These codes are as a rule so complicated that perfect obedience is nearly impossible. Some inspectors or their superiors take advantage of this fact to extort bribes from contractors and owners in return for ignoring violations of the code.

A fifth waste is the failure to apply modern methods to building. Hand tools are used for many tasks that could be done more easily and quickly by machinery. The near future is likely to make common the use of ready-made plumbing and electrical units, and to increase the use of power-driven saws, paint-spray guns, and the like. A factory-built steel house is now on the market which can be set up ready for occupancy in four days. The introduction of factory methods to building will probably multiply the total amount of new construction. Whether or not this increase will absorb all the workers now employed in construction, only time can tell. In any case, by lowering the cost of building, it will help solve the housing problem.

d. High financing charges. In ordinary times the cost of borrowing money for building is about nine per cent. This includes a legal interest rate of six or seven per cent plus the cost of bonuses and commissions demanded by the lender. One argument for the entrance of government into the field of low-cost housing is that the government will provide money at a moderate rate of interest.

Attacking the Housing Problem. Since the World War many governments have attacked the housing problem. The building of low-cost homes has been the principal method abroad for absorbing the unemployed. Great Britain and Germany have built over a million homes for low-income families. France, the Netherlands, Austria, Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Turkey, Japan, Canada, and Australia each have gone farther than the United States in replacing substandard housing. All over the world the story is the same — good housing is not obtainable by at least one half of the population unless the government steps in.

The United States has been tardy in recognizing the problem. Since 1926 several housing projects have

been erected in New York under the direction of the State Board of Housing. The first attempt by the national government to eliminate bad housing began in 1933 with the establishment of the housing division of the Public Works Administration. This agency has now completed fifty-one huge housing developments in thirty-five cities — a demonstration of good housing at moderate cost. These new fireproof buildings provide modern conveniences, ample fresh air and sunshine, facilities for recreation, and rooms for community activities. Already a widespread public interest is evident. The Wagner-Steagall Act passed by Congress in 1937 will probably encourage the states and the cities to undertake low-cost housing on an extensive scale.

Summary. The amazingly rapid growth of cities is one of the features of an industrial civilization. Today the city is dominant throughout Western culture; city ways of living are, as far as possible, being adopted everywhere.

Division of labor is the leading characteristic of urban society; it creates a multiplicity of personality types, and accentuates class differences. Urban culture is a composite of various culture complexes; no uniform code of morals binds the inhabitants of a city. Besides, social contacts in the city are mostly too brief and impersonal to favor the expression of approval or disapproval. Hence social control in an urban society depends less on morals and more on law-enforcement agencies than in a rural society.

City dwellers are extremely mobile; they do not know their neighbors; their status is determined chiefly by external show. City dwellers have less respect for tradition than rural dwellers; they are almost too willing to try anything that is new.

Cities maintain their numbers by attracting the surplus young people from the villages and the open

country. Thus the cities have the productive years of millions of people born and brought up at the expense of rural dwellers.

Juvenile delinquents are nearly all born in the city; from their ranks come the vast majority of adult criminals. The control of crime is therefore the task of the city rather than of the country.

Dependent old age and the unemployment of workers of all ages are likewise distinctively urban problems. The United States is following in the steps of other industrial countries in developing a system of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

Inadequate housing is not peculiarly a city problem. However, the cities have been first to recognize the problem and first to take steps toward its correction. In housing, as in so many other things, standards developed in the city will exert a powerful influence in village and country.

WORD STUDY

primary contacts	secondary contacts	unearned increment
primary group	social distance	urbane

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why are there more types of personality in the city than in the country? Enumerate several distinct types.
2. Why is there so little community consciousness in the city?
3. What are primary contacts? What is their importance to the individual? To society?
4. Why does city government tend to assume an ever-increasing number of functions?
5. Why does custom lose authority in the city?
6. What is the result of excessive mobility of population?
7. How do cities secure their people? Why is it thought that our national population will soon become stationary?
8. Why do certain areas in a city have a much higher delinquency rate than other areas?

9. Why do the native-born children of foreign-born parents have a high delinquency rate? What evidence was found in Chicago indicating that nationality has little to do with the delinquency rate?
10. Why will the support of the aged assume much more importance in the next few decades?
11. What is the worst consequence of direct relief? What improvement has taken place in this regard?
12. What is the minimum standard of health and decency in housing? Does this standard seem to include anything not essential to an American family?
13. Enumerate the principal factors that are responsible for the excessively high cost of modern housing.
14. Cite several important wastes in the building industry.

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Mention ways that city people have developed for manipulating other people. What city occupations consist in the manipulation of people as distinct from the manipulation of things?
2. Why does social control in the city apply mostly to superficial matters? Can you illustrate?
3. List all the reasons you can think of to explain why rural dwellers are more conservative than urban dwellers.
4. Enumerate the conditions likely to obtain among families of low income living in large cities that might tend toward a high delinquency rate.
5. Report to the class on the provision made in your state for the aged. How many are still cared for in almshouses? What are the objections to such care? How many come under a government pension scheme? Who are eligible for pensions?
6. Appoint a committee to determine the principal features of the Social Security Act that relate to the aged; also, the features that relate to the unemployed. Do the respective provisions for these groups seem reasonably adequate?
7. Visit a low-cost housing project. Visit a factory-built steel house.

8. Visit a neighborhood of substandard dwellings. Try to find out from the family welfare society, the city planning commission, or some interested group the extent of the housing problem in your community.
9. Look into unemployment-insurance legislation in your state. Ask some labor leader if he considers it satisfactory, and if not what changes he thinks should be made.
10. Prepare a report on juvenile delinquency in your community. Find out how juvenile delinquents are dealt with. Are there trained probation officers to supervise them? Perhaps you can visit a juvenile court, or a home for delinquents.

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- Zorbaugh, Harvey W., *The Gold Coast and the Slum*. Vivid pictures of Chicago's wealthy neighborhoods, slums, rooming-house areas, and "Bohemia."

STORIES AND BIOGRAPHY

- Addams, Jane, *Twenty Years at Hull House*. Autobiography.
- Wald, Lillian, *House on Henry Street*. Life in a crowded city as seen by a great social worker.
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CHAPTER XX

THE METROPOLITAN TREND

Why are the people of the world congregating in metropolitan districts?

Are the various regions of the United States becoming more or less self-sufficient?

What striking changes of occupation are taking place within the city?

Is there any solution to the problem of metropolitan government?

THE HIGHEST conceivable kind of human society is that in which the desire to do what is best for the whole dominates and limits the action of every member.

THOMAS H. HUXLEY

THE GREAT CITY is playing an ever more influential role in our society. In this chapter we shall see how the United States is falling into regions, each dominated by a metropolis, and each tending toward self-sufficiency. We shall also notice some very interesting movements of population in the country as a whole and within each of the metropolitan cities.

The Rise of City Regionalism

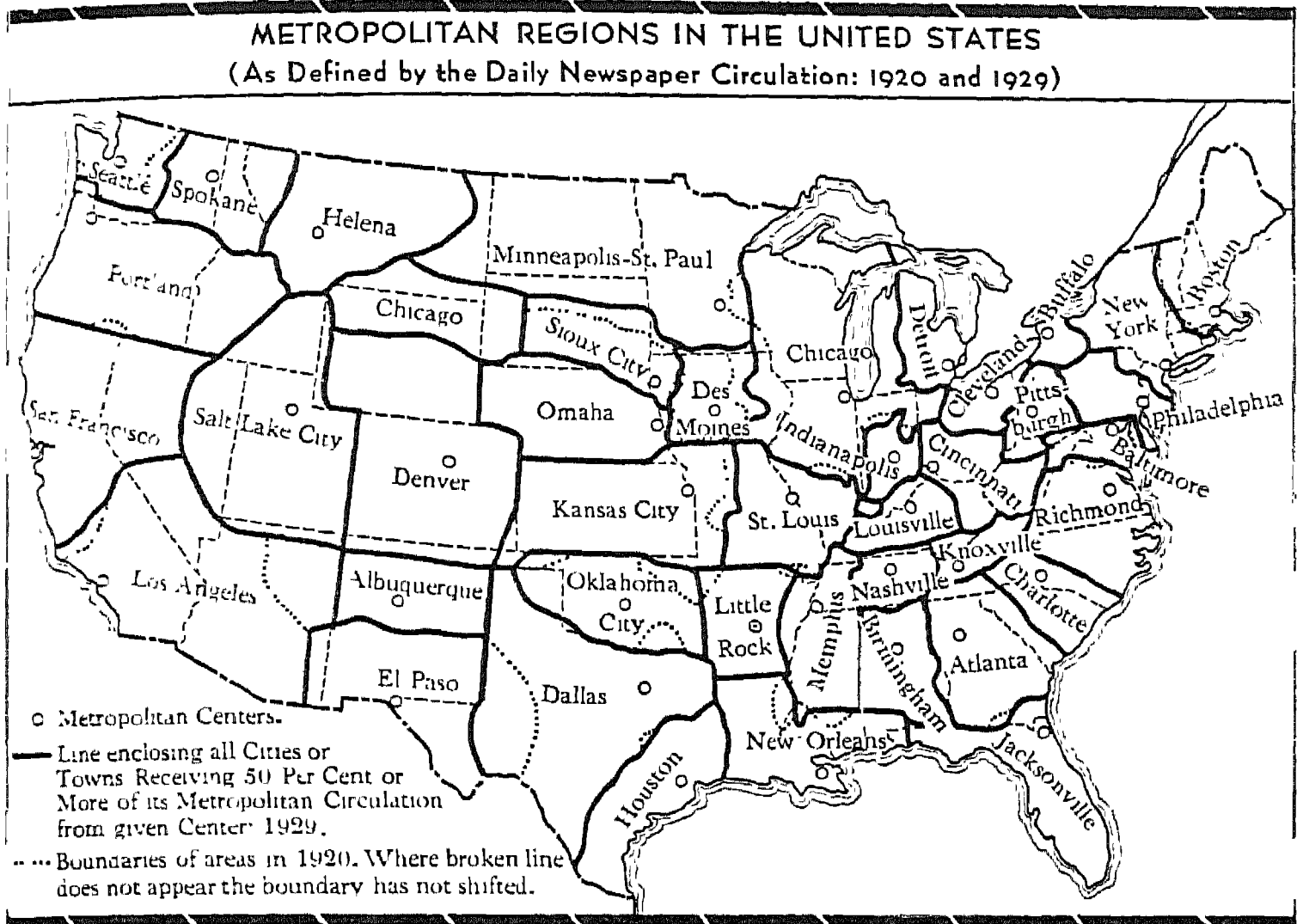
The Prerailway Era. The history of American settlement may be divided into three periods. First was the prerailway era, extending to about the middle of the nineteenth century. Settlement was almost wholly confined to areas close to navigable water. Ninety per cent of the people of the United States resided east of the Mississippi, nearly all of them along the Atlantic seaboard and the main river systems. The great ma-

jority of the people were farmers. Communities were largely self-sufficient and had but slight relations with one another.

The Railway Era. About 1850 the railway era began. Railroads expanded westward, reaching the Pacific by 1870. By 1900, when the era closed, the main outlines of the present railway network had been established. During this era, settlement was no longer dominated by river highways. It spread rapidly westward wherever good soil and other natural resources invited. Gateway cities grew up where the railroad entered a producing region. Of the ninety-three cities which in 1930 had 100,000 or more people, forty-two were incorporated during the railway era. These gateway cities collected raw materials to sell in distant markets, and distributed manufactured goods brought chiefly from the industrial Northeast.

By the close of the century practically all the cities were engaged in manufacturing. Population and wealth became increasingly concentrated in cities, particularly the larger ones. The city developed many new economic and social functions which it performed not only for its own inhabitants but for rural settlements as well. As small communities lost their self-sufficiency, they became increasingly dependent upon the cities for financial, industrial, educational, recreational, and professional goods and services. Men had developed new wants, nearly all of which the city, rather than the rural community, was organized to supply. The city had assumed economic and cultural dominance.

The Era of City Regionalism. The era of city regionalism began soon after 1900 under the influence of motor transportation. Within a quarter of a century 26,000,000 motor vehicles and over 500,000 miles of surfaced motor highways were added to our transportation system. This vast network of motor highways



The Metropolitan Community, by R. D. McKenzie. Courtesy of McGraw-Hill Co.

Each Metropolis Tends to Shape the Intellectual Pattern of the Surrounding Region

was added to the existing network of railways. It has developed mostly around the margins of cities, bringing the city and the surrounding countryside into closer economic and social relationship than had ever been known to history. As a result the larger centers have greatly extended and intensified their influence. Their people have dispersed into the suburbs, taking with them characteristic city institutions — shops, schools, churches, clubs, and the like, built on the urban pattern. The city has grown out to and included within itself formerly independent towns and villages. It has become dominant over an entire region. To such a super-community the name of *metropolis* may be given.

In recent years the entire United States has tended to fall into regions, each the sphere of influence of a metropolis, dominated by its economic institutions and

by its newspapers and radio stations. Every small city tends to become a suburb of a larger center, or, if remote from a large city, tends to act as a miniature metropolis toward the surrounding villages. Even the crossroads hamlet, if it survives at all, is drawn within the orbit of the city from whence come its supplies and credit and to which go its products. Increasingly people go to the biggest center within reach for their more important amusements and purchases and professional services. Thus the communities are drawn into a constellation revolving around a metropolitan center.

The main attraction of the metropolis is the wide selection of goods and services which it offers to the consumer. Another attraction is its prestige. To its highly specialized industries and activities are drawn the outstanding leaders in every field. Hence the metropolitan label carries great weight, whether on clothing, entertainment, education, medical care, or religion. Already the metropolitan newspapers have a larger circulation in the smaller cities and towns than the local newspapers. Apparently each metropolis will more and more determine the economic and intellectual patterns of its region.

Stages in Metropolitan Growth. The first step by which a city comes to dominate a region is trade. As it secures its supplies and sells its goods, it gradually creates a feeling of dependence throughout the trading area. The second step is the growth of manufacturing. The central city will process some of the raw materials it receives from the surrounding region. It will also develop industries to supply those things locally demanded. The third step is the close financial knitting of the region by banks, insurance companies, trust companies, and stock exchanges.

The fourth step is the cultural welding of the area.

The metropolitan newspaper circulates throughout the surrounding region. Radio stations grow up in the metropolis. While their programs are primarily designed to bring purchasers to the center, they also broadcast news, market reports, public health talks, lectures, and other local material. The radio brings to everyone in the region, even to the open-country dwellers, the thought patterns of the center. The telephone, too, contributes to the cultural domination of the center, for the overwhelming majority of telephone calls are within a radius of fifty miles of the metropolis. The great bulk of motor traffic is within a similar radius of the center. Within this radius the people are very strongly influenced by the center.

The Tendency to Regional Self-Sufficiency. Each region as it matures tends to have a complete industrial set-up. Many of the lighter industries, instead of being concentrated in the Northeast as formerly, are now represented by plants in every region. An example of the trend toward decentralization is the setting up of automobile assembly plants in regional cities. Once textile and shoe factories were found only in New England; now quite as many are found outside New England as in it. Southern and western cities are diversifying their industries, and thus are becoming more like the cities of the Northeast. The great cities are no longer confined to the Northeast. Of the ninety-three cities with over 100,000 people, forty-four are located either west of the Mississippi or south of the Ohio and Potomac rivers.

There is also a trend toward financial self-sufficiency within each region. The establishment in 1913 of the twelve Federal Reserve districts has helped to decentralize the financial affairs of the nation. Instead of one financial center — New York — there are now twelve. In 1923 New York had 48.8 per cent of the

nation's bank deposits, but in 1938 it had only 35 per cent.

Each metropolis tends to build up a complete system of social institutions for the surrounding region. Radio stations, art museums, symphony orchestras, grand opera, graduate and professional schools, and highly specialized medical institutions, once found only in the very largest places, are now duplicated in most regional centers. National societies and social welfare agencies are establishing branch offices in regional centers. This trend toward decentralization means, of course, that many sorts of specialized services and institutions have now been made available in areas where not long ago they were entirely absent. A wider variety of human needs can now be met among a greater proportion of the people. More kinds of talent will find employment. The level of culture and the standard of living are slowly becoming more uniform throughout the various regions. This will tend to moderate the acute sectional differences long conspicuous in national politics.

Of course many activities will remain centralized in places offering unusual advantages. The steel industry will remain in those spots to which coal and iron ore can be most cheaply brought. A large part of the manufacture of automobiles will probably continue in the Detroit area. The making of the better grades of hats and dresses is not likely to leave New York, where European models can be so quickly secured. New York and Chicago will continue to be interregional metropolises, attracting the outstanding designers, artists, and leaders in the professions. The other regional cities will hardly attain entire self-sufficiency.

Evidences of Cultural Leveling. One of the signs of the cultural development of a region is the circulation of newspapers. In 1909 the Middle Atlantic division had the highest per capita circulation in the entire

country — 446 papers daily for every 1,000 people. In the same year the West South Central division had but eighty-one papers and the East South Central division but seventy-eight papers daily for every 1,000 people. During the next two decades newspaper circulation per capita increased only nine per cent in the Middle Atlantic division, while it increased remarkably elsewhere — 128 per cent in the West South Central division and ninety-five per cent in the East South Central division. Other indexes of cultural development tell a similar story of rapid progress by the poorer regions. Should this trend continue, in the course of a few decades there should be no pronounced cultural difference between the regions.

How the Metropolitan Trend Is Affecting the Population

The Population Is Concentrating around the Larger Cities. There is now going on a vast rearrangement of population in and near the regional centers. Our population is definitely moving toward areas of high density. Fully one half the people of this country now live within an hour's motor journey of a city of 100,000 or more. Over eighty per cent reside within an hour's journey of a city of 25,000 or more. Growth in the territory adjoining the larger cities has been much faster than in the country as a whole or even within these same cities. That is, while the population is moving toward areas of high density, there is also a movement away from the centers of these areas and toward the suburbs. Small cities and rural territory within easy motoring distance of a metropolitan center have grown much faster than places not near a large city. The population is gathering around the larger cities, and these communities are reaching out over more and more territory.

The table on page 450 indicates this drift toward large cities. Around each of the ninety-three cities having

100,000 or more people in 1930, a circle was drawn with a radius of twenty to fifty miles. Because some of these cities are very close together, certain groupings were made, which reduced the number of metropolitan zones to sixty-three. The table reveals that seventy-four per cent of the population increase of the United States between 1920 and 1930 took place within these sixty-three zones.

TOTAL POPULATION IN SIXTY-THREE METROPOLITAN
ZONES, 1900-1930¹

(Cities of 100,000 plus adjacent counties)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total popu- lation in United States</i>	<i>Total popu- lation in metropolitan zones</i>	<i>Percentage of total United States population</i>	<i>Percentage increase in zones of total increase in U. S.²</i>
1900	75,994,575	28,044,698	36.9	46.4
1910	91,972,266	37,271,608	40.5	57.7
1920	105,710,620	46,491,835	44.0	67.1
1930	122,755,046	59,118,595	48.2	74.0

The Movement toward Deep Water. Another interesting trend is the movement toward deep water. In a zone fifty miles wide which skirts the salt water rim of the United States and the southern shores of Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Michigan, are found forty-five per cent of the people. Between 1920 and 1930, sixty-seven per cent of the total population increase of the United States was in this narrow strip. However, nearly all this increase was in the counties close to a metropolis.

¹ From R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), p. 20.

² This column gives the percentage which the net increase in metropolitan zones formed of the total increase in United States population in the preceding decade. For instance, in 1930 the net population increase in the metropolitan zones was 74 per cent of that of the entire United States.

The movement, therefore, is into metropolitan regions near the water.

Many Places Are Losing Population. Since the shutting off of immigration, the rapid growth in some localities has been at the expense of a decline in others. Many of the older settled places are losing population. Out of 2,955 counties, 1,220 (forty-one per cent) lost population between 1920 and 1930. There were, in 1920, 2,787 places having 2,500 or more people. Between 1920 and 1930, 512 of these places lost population. The proportion of declining counties and cities is highest in the Mountain, West South Central, East North Central, and West North Central divisions.

The larger the community the less likely it is to lose population. This is because the larger communities have a greater variety of economic activities; if one business should decline, some other may expand. A stable economic base means a stable population. Until

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF VILLAGES AND CITIES
THAT DECREASED IN POPULATION BY SIZE GROUPS
1920-1930¹

Size of place	Total number of places in 1920	Places which showed decreases in 1930	
		Number	Per cent
Villages	13,530	6,285	46.5
Under 1,000	10,176	5,048	49.6
1,000-2,500	3,354	1,237	36.9
Cities	2,787	512	18.4
2,500-5,000	1,320	284	21.5
5,000-25,000	1,180	204	17.3
25,000-50,000	143	9	6.3
50,000-100,000	76	11	13.2
100,000 and over	68	4	5.9

¹ From R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), p. 30.

1930 there were but four American cities on record that lost population after having reached the 50,000 mark. No city with 150,000 people has so far shown a loss. The table on page 451 shows the large proportion of villages and cities which decreased between 1920 and 1930.

When a rural section loses population, little invested capital is lost. But when a city declines, there is a heavy loss in the value of buildings, transportation facilities, and public utilities. Property values drop, and the city cannot collect the same amount of taxes as formerly. Earnings shrink and municipal services deteriorate. Those who remain must reduce their standard of living.

The Increasing Degree of Urbanization. While the Census Bureau counts every incorporated place of 2,500 as urban, it is obvious that the mode of life in a place of 2,500 is not the same as that in a place of a million inhabitants. Urbanization implies a change in the traditional ways, a shift from the rural patterns to the highly specialized and interdependent ways of the city. This change has gone farther in the larger cities. It is interesting to note the increasing proportion of the people who reside in the larger centers.

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN URBAN PLACES,
1890-1930

<i>Size of places</i>	<i>1890</i>	<i>1900</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1930</i>
2,500 or more	35.4	40.0	45.8	51.4	56.2
10,000 or more	27.6	31.8	37.0	42.4	47.6
25,000 or more	22.2	26.1	31.0	35.8	40.2
50,000 or more	18.6	22.4	26.6	31.0	35.0
100,000 or more	15.4	18.8	22.1	26.0	29.7
500,000 or more	7.1	10.7	12.5	15.5	17.1
1,000,000 or more	5.8	8.5	9.2	9.6	12.3

The chief explanation of the growth of the larger cities is the tendency for commerce and finance to become ever more highly concentrated in the various

regional centers. Three quarters of the wholesale business of the United States is done in fifty-seven counties. Three quarters of the savings bank deposits are found in 122 counties. Three quarters of the retail business of the United States is done in 395 counties, while three quarters of the population is found in 862 counties. Another factor in the recent growth of cities is the increased number of persons engaged in service occupations — public, professional, domestic, and personal. These now constitute nearly one fifth of all gainfully employed persons in the United States. Most of them live in the larger cities, principally because of the concentration of wealth in these same places.

Changes in the Composition of the Urban Population. The proportion of children to a hundred people is declining both in urban and rural places. It is declining faster in the city. The sex ratio — the number of men to every hundred women — is also changing. A high proportion of immigrants are single men; since the shutting off of immigration, the sex ratio for the entire country has dropped. Women leave the farms in greater numbers than do men. Hence the rural sex ratio is 108.3 (that is, 108.3 men for every 100 women), while the urban sex ratio is 98.1.

The proportion of wage-earners engaged in manufacturing to every 100 urban people has dropped from 19.1 in 1890 to 12.8 in 1930. At the same time the volume of manufactures has greatly expanded. The loss in employment means, then, that more labor-saving machinery is being used in manufacturing.

The city population is becoming commercial and professional rather than industrial. As the white-collar class gains and the day-laboring class shrinks, the cities will have to meet new demands in housing, amusements, and cultural opportunities. Their citizens will be less patient with bad housing and unnecessary congestion.

Indeed it is the white-collar group which is fast leaving the center for the suburbs.

Segregation of Various Groups within the Metropolis

The modern metropolis is like an intricate machine consisting of thousands of interdependent parts. The people who run the machine represent a wide variety of types. They have come from everywhere, and they have fitted themselves as best they could into the city's complicated activities.

One of the strangest characteristics of the great city is the manner in which its population is segregated into a myriad different groups. Not only are those of a given race or nationality segregated, but so, to a surprising degree, are those of a given age and sex.

Age and Sex Segregation in the Large City. In the downtown area men greatly outnumber women, and very few children are to be found. Most of the families who live downtown reside in expensive apartment houses and residential hotels. Here live the officials of enterprises centering in the heart of the city. In this same area, close to the transportation terminals, are numerous hotels and lodging houses for transients. Their occupants are predominately young adults. On the back streets is "hobohemia" — a squalid section inhabited by homeless, migratory men, many of them too old to work. Ministering to them are missions, cheap dormitories, soup kitchens, bread lines; and cheap, ugly amusements.

Next to the central or downtown area is a blighted or transitional zone. Once, when the city was smaller, it was occupied by middle-class families. Now it contains the slums, where live the poorest of the city's people, barring only those who live in "hobohemia." Negroes and the more recently arrived aliens occupy the slums. Each racial and nationality group clusters together, so



WHERE DO THEY LIVE — THE CHEF, THE SOCIALITES,
AND THE STREET VENDOR?

we find here Greektown, Little Sicily, Chinatown, the Black Belt, and other colonies. There are more men than women among the foreign-born, and consequently there are fewer children than in an average population.

Streets of rooming houses separate the slum quarters. Rooming-house dwellers are mostly young, unmarried adults of the laboring and white-collar class. They are extremely mobile. The whole rooming-house population turns over every four months. A Chicago survey disclosed that half the keepers of rooming houses had been at their present addresses less than six months. Rooming-house dwellers have practically no stable social relationships near where they reside, and no sense of belonging to the neighborhood where they happen to be. Most of them are lonely, restless, and frustrated. Irregular family relationships, desertion, divorce, mental

disease, crime, and suicide are commonplace among them.

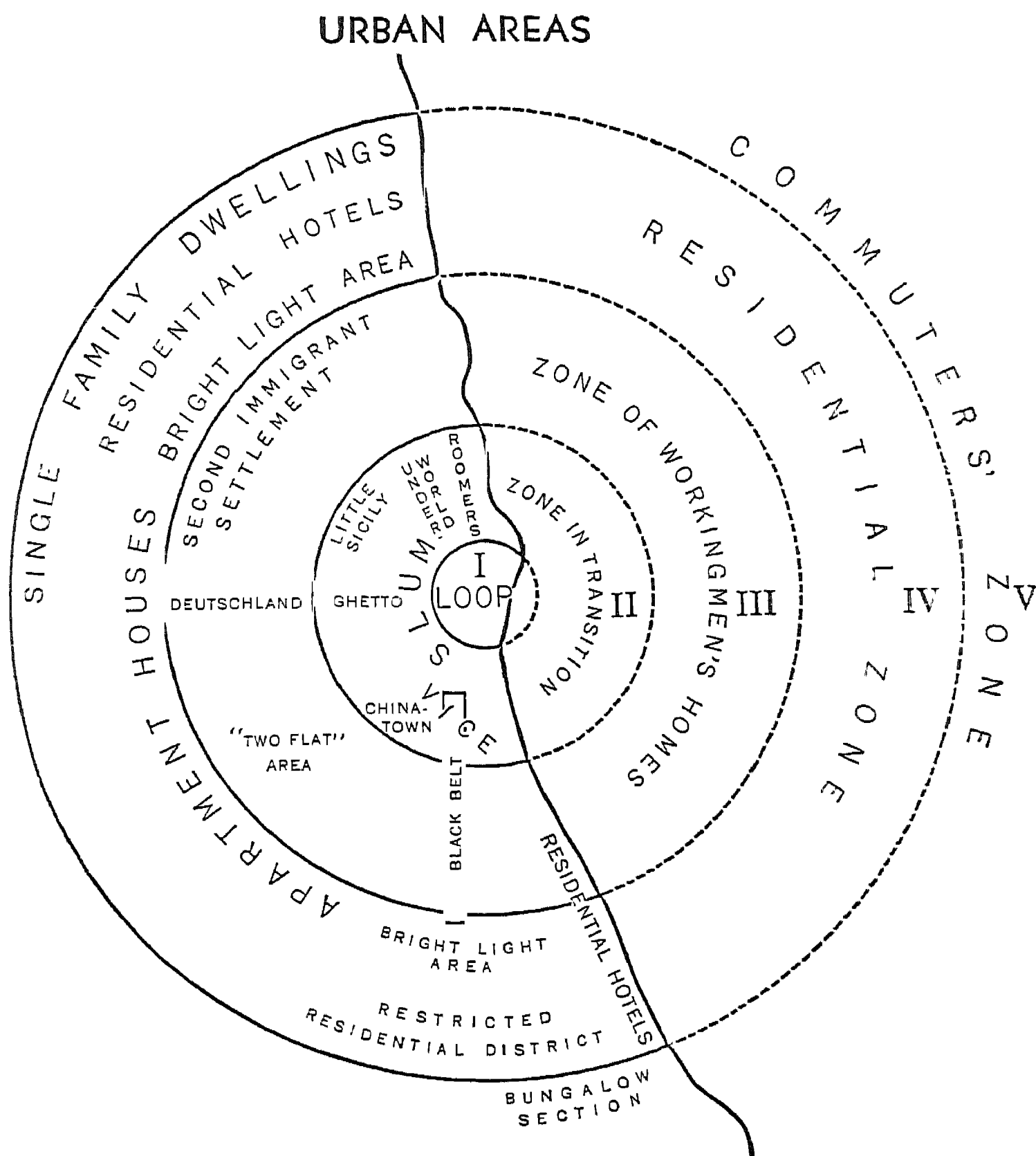
Within this deteriorating zone given over to slums and rooming houses, the amusements tell an eloquent story. Here are saloons, fortune tellers, pool halls, dime museums, ten-cent movies, taxi dance halls, cheap burlesque shows, all witnessing the squalor, futility, and disorganization of their patrons.

In better neighborhoods within the blighted zone live immigrants who have escaped from the slums. Here the men only slightly outnumber the women. The proportion of families with children is greater than among immigrants more recently arrived.

Beyond the blighted districts is a third zone of workingmen's families. Here live skilled and semiskilled workers employed in factories, stores, and offices. Their homes are neat and respectable. They are thrifty and law-abiding. Many are second-generation immigrants. The proportion of children and of aged, of men and of women, is close to normal.

The fourth zone shelters the more expensive residences — modern apartment houses, residential hotels, and single family houses. The number of women exceeds the number of men. The percentage of children is slightly below normal.

These four zones are not, of course, perfect circles. The high class residences lie along certain streets that cut across all the zones. A segment of slum may be bounded by strips of workingmen's homes, and these, in turn, may back upon streets where live the well-to-do. Furthermore, an area frequently changes its characteristics. Single houses give way to apartments, and apartments deteriorate into rooming houses. Sometimes costly apartments and apartment hotels are built downtown on land cleared of slum dwellings. A change of this sort is always accompanied by shifts in the age-sex



The City, by R. E. Park and others. Courtesy of University of Chicago Press

This diagram shows the zones and areas found in any large city. The Loop is the downtown area. Closely circling it are slums where live Negroes and the more recently arrived immigrants. Here, too, are the rooming-house districts and the hideouts of the underworld. In the third zone are workingmen's families, many of whom are immigrants who have escaped from the slums. The dark line cutting all the zones is a river.

make-up of the population housed. Each type of dwelling attracts its own peculiar type of occupant, according to the rent asked.

Cultural Segregation in the Large City. Just as the various regions of the United States differ from each other in standard of living and in cultural development,

so do various sections of the same region and even of the same city. Most cities have residence areas ranging from the depths of poverty to the heights of luxury. The city is like a sieve which sifts and sorts its human elements and arranges them according to their income.

One way to study the cultural differences in the various districts of the city is to classify them according to the average rent paid by the families living therein. A study of fourteen economic areas in Cleveland reveals how the ability to pay rent tends to segregate the people into distinct cultural groups. In the low-rent areas live families with a high rate of births, of infant mortality, and of juvenile delinquency. These families have many illiterate members. They often require help from charitable agencies. Their possessions, judging from the number of radio sets, are few. The high-rent areas present, in every respect, a striking contrast. Naturally the differences would be still more marked if the city had been divided into a larger number of economic areas.

Each economic area of the city must be dealt with differently by the city officials and by social welfare agencies. Obviously the poorer districts present grave problems to the police, the public health department, and the charitable organizations. The high death and delinquency rates of these districts indicate that the conditions necessary for healthy and decent living do not obtain. The number of illiterates and the unusually high birth rate suggest that these people are mostly foreign-born. With their numerous dependents it is not strange that many of them from time to time require assistance. They are subject to much sickness, and far more often than among the prosperous the breadwinner or the mother of the family is stricken by death. In every respect these people are severely handicapped.

VARIATIONS IN SOCIAL DATA AMONG FOURTEEN
ECONOMIC AREAS IN CLEVELAND AND IN FOUR
ADJOINING SUBURBS, 1930 ¹

Economic area (on basis of rent paid)	Population (in thousands)	Equivalent monthly rental, 1930	Births per 1,000 married females 15 years of age and over	Death rate (adjusted)	Infant mortality rate	Male delinquents per 1,000 males 10 to 17 years of age, 1930	Families cared for by case-work agencies, per 1,000 families, 1931	Illiterates per 100 families	Percentage of families having radio sets	Percentage of owned homes
Lowest	4	14	122.5	15.0	109.9	53.2	196.7	53	15.5	25.7
2	32	18	106.4		75.4	59.9	230.8	32	18.5	24.1
3	111	22	103.9	12.8	89.0	37.1	202.0	31	25.5	32.5
4	144	27	88.3	12.7	64.5	33.2	183.5	19	32.5	29.2
5	81	33	81.0	12.0	84.1	32.2	130.8	15	41.7	32.1
6	207	37	77.6	9.8	52.6	18.2	77.7	14	50.1	44.5
7	185	42	68.5	9.0	52.2	14.9	46.2	8	62.1	42.4
8	76	47	63.1	8.5	48.8	11.1	28.1	5	66.7	42.8
9	36	52	58.8	7.7	46.6	9.9	13.3	2	73.3	45.6
10	56	57	57.8	8.6	44.3	21.2	29.1	2	66.6	26.4
11	43	61	48.6	7.9	39.4	7.8	11.4	2	72.4	36.9
12	38	65	50.5	7.3	40.8	8.4	4.5	1	79.8	48.8
13	43	86	47.0	7.2	46.5	5.2	4.1	2	77.7	50.6
Highest	22	125	51.1		26.3	2.8		1	87.4	75.9
Total	1,079	10.1	60.4	23.7	85.8	12	53.4	39.3

To lock up the delinquent boys and to give temporary aid to families always on the edge of disaster is not enough. If any permanent improvement is to be made in these areas of human wretchedness, the attack must be on the underlying conditions — bad housing, congestion, lack of recreational space, insufficient medical care, inadequate and insecure earnings. To excuse the situation because the victims are mostly foreign-born and ignorant of our ways is stupid. For its own protection society must eradicate the breeding areas of disease and of crime.

¹ Calculated by Howard W. Green of the Cleveland Health Council. This table is taken from *The Metropolitan Community*, by R. D. McKenzie, p. 248. All data is for 1930 except that in the eighth column.

How Shall the Metropolis Be Governed?

The government of the metropolis has lagged far behind the growth in population and in territory. Political methods that met the simple needs of small cities at a time when few services were performed by government have survived with relatively slight changes to the present day.

What Territory Shall Be Controlled by the Metropolitan Government? The metropolis is seldom a political unit. Outside the central city, and beyond its jurisdiction, is generally a circle of satellite or minor communities. These may be so close together that they need a single, unified government, yet artificial political boundaries keep them apart. Sometimes a suburban city is willing to be annexed to the metropolitan city. More often it is not. Local pride and the desire of local officeholders to keep their jobs are opposed to annexation. The result is a costly duplication of city halls and other administrative buildings, a duplication of high-salaried executives, and grave inefficiency in certain services which should be uniformly administered. The Chicago metropolitan region, for instance, has 350 police forces, 343 public health agencies, and 556 courts, all operating within fifty miles of the center. Is it any wonder that the police are unable to drive out the underworld?

Sometimes a number of near-by cities establish a special metropolitan commission to deal with a common problem which cannot possibly be handled except by joint action. Examples are the Sanitary District of Chicago, the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, and the Massachusetts Metropolitan District Commission which deals with parks, water, and sewers in the Boston area.

Twenty-three metropolitan areas cut across state lines; one or two cut international boundaries. To

handle any common interest, treaty making must be resorted to. Thus the Port of New York Authority was created by a compact between New York and New Jersey. It has built the George Washington Bridge, operates the Holland Tunnel, and also supplies other services.

Shall the City Be Controlled by State and County Governments? The city is often hampered in its endeavor to simplify and centralize its government by interference from the county and state administration. Rural legislators have frequently rejoiced in their power to out-vote the legislators from the cities. Twenty states have now granted a measure of home rule to their cities, allowing them, within certain limits, freedom to manage their own affairs.

In some cases there has been a consolidation of a city and a county. Denver is a consolidated city and county. In New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, St. Louis, New Orleans, and San Francisco a partial consolidation has been carried out. Opposition to the merging of city and county governments comes from suburban and rural dwellers who fear a higher tax rate, and from officeholders who fear loss of their positions.

In one state, Virginia, the cities have been made entirely separate from the counties. This is advantageous to the city, but it works hardship on rural communities which must now support county government without financial aid from the cities.

Leaders in great metropolises sometimes urge that their city and its environs should be granted statehood. Probably this would prove very desirable for the people included in the new state. Such a change would, however, be disastrous to the remainder of the state, which receives a larger share of state taxes than it contributes. Many of the benefits of separate statehood would be obtained if the city were given a large degree of home

rule, and if it could persuade its near-by satellites to merge with it.

Regional Government. The regional planners are giving us a new kind of grouping — the region. Its center is a relatively large city, its territory the area that is economically and socially dependent upon that center. This is undoubtedly the natural unit in planning. Highways, railroads, waterways, public forests and reservations, waterworks, and sewerage systems need to be considered quite independently of old-fashioned political boundaries. They fall naturally within the region; indeed they determine it. If planning is to amount to anything, it must be regional. But how can a regional plan be carried into effect when it cuts across so many city, county, and state lines?

Leaders in regional planning assert that we need a new political unit, the region. Such a territory might be governed by a council with a representative from each of the subordinate communities. Something of the sort is successfully operating in the Administrative County of London, where 117 square miles are administered by a county council and twenty-eight borough councils.

How the problem of regional government will be solved nobody knows. We have never thought in regional terms. Here is another example of the slowness with which the nonmaterial institutions adjust themselves to even the most revolutionary changes in the material setup. But the adjustment must and will be made. No set of political boundaries that contradicts economic realities can permanently endure.

WORD STUDY

city regionalism
"hobohemia"

metropolis
region

sex ratio
urbanization

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How was the population distributed during the prerailway era? During the railway era? What changes in the distribution of the population have been going on since the coming of the automobile?
2. In what ways is the average village or small city economically dependent upon its regional center?
3. For what educational goods and services is the entire region likely to be dependent upon its center? (Add, if you can, to those mentioned in the text.)
4. For what recreational goods and services does the region depend upon its center?
5. For what professional services and facilities does the region depend upon its center?
6. What transportation change first reduced the self-sufficiency of each community? Explain. Which was lost first, economic or cultural independence? What second great change in transportation further reduced local self-sufficiency?
7. Outline the four steps by which a city comes to dominate a region.
8. As a region matures, it tends to develop a complete system of economic and social institutions. Illustrate.
9. Using newspaper circulation as an example, show that there is a trend toward the cultural leveling of the various regions.
10. Where is our population concentrating?
11. Why are the smaller cities more likely to lose population than the larger ones? Remembering the higher birth rate in the smaller cities, how do you account for their tendency to lose population?
12. What striking changes are taking place in the occupations of city people? How would you expect this to affect the demand for improved living conditions?
13. Describe the rooming-house population. Is it socially disorganized?
14. Describe the three groups who live downtown.
15. Enumerate the handicaps of those living in the low-rent districts of a great city.

16. State the case for regional government.
17. From what source comes opposition to the merging of near-by cities with their metropolitan center?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. On a map of the United States, preferably one showing the principal railroads, indicate some gateway cities. What are the economic functions of such a city?
2. What are the attractions of the metropolis to the shopper? To the visitor? To the newspaper reader? The radio listener?
3. Show that most of the goods and services for which a region is dependent upon its center are of fairly recent appearance in the world. Can you explain why they are at present concentrated in great cities? Would you expect some of them to become more widely diffused? Which ones?
4. On a map of the United States, preferably one showing the geographic divisions used by the Census Bureau, show the sections of the country having the largest number of declining cities. Also show into what areas the population is concentrating.
5. What are the four types of service occupations? Give examples of each. What change is taking place with respect to the service occupations as a whole? Where do most of those engaged in these occupations live? Why do they concentrate there?
6. Investigate the problem of the homeless man in the city. Who are the homeless men? How are they cared for? See *Our Dynamic Society*, by Mabel Elliott and others, pp. 89-92; *The Hobo*, by Nels Anderson; and *Group Life and Social Problems*, by Ernest Shideler, Chapter XIII.
7. Visit near-by institutions which deal with homeless men, including the local jail or police station; a special hotel or mission for the homeless; and a charitable organization.
8. Sketch a map of your community. Locate on this map any distinct areas that can be found, such as the central business district, the industrial district, the slum and rooming-house district, the various foreign or racial

colonies, the better residential areas, the area of workingmen's homes, recreational areas.

9. Review the work done at some notable settlement house. If possible, visit a settlement house. Read *Twenty Years at Hull House*, by Jane Addams, and *The House on Henry Street*, by Lillian Wald. Each of these books is worth a special report. Brief excerpts might be read to the class.
10. Ask a representative of the Family Welfare Society, or of some other organization that assists families in need, to talk to the class about her work. Ask her to tell you of any special problems or conditions that render family life difficult in your community.

READINGS

Griffith, Ernest S., *Current Municipal Problems*.

McKenzie, R. D., *The Metropolitan Community*. The best treatment of the subject. Difficult.

President's Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends*.
Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, *Regional Survey of New York*. Vol. I, "Major Economic Factors in Metropolitan Growth and Management," pp. 19-30.

STORIES AND BIOGRAPHY

See the reading list for the previous chapter.

CHAPTER XXI

PLANNING THE CITY

Why is city planning primarily an educational process?
How can planning help the city to accomplish its economic functions?
How can the city be made more livable?
What will be the character of the future city?

LET OUR young people adopt in their hearts a city plan and the citizens of tomorrow will carry it out.

CHARLES D. NORTON

No COMMUNITY is too small to profit from a plan for its future development. As yet, however, it is chiefly the larger cities which have felt the need of planning. In their case planning is an obvious necessity; the losses due to the failure to plan are plainly demonstrable. Although we shall here consider planning chiefly as it applies to the great city, most of the principles can and should be applied to smaller places.

The Spread of City Zoning. As a rule, the first step undertaken in planning a city is its division into zones,

ZONED CITIES ACCORDING TO SIZE OF POPULATION, 1930¹

Size of city	Number of cities in group	Number of cities zoned
Over 500,000 population....	13	11
100,000–500,000.....	80	71
25,000–100,000.....	283	180
5,000–25,000.....	1,457	419
Under 5,000.....	1,382	300
Total.....	3,152	981

¹ From R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), p. 300.

according to the use to be made of the private property within each zone. Before 1916 there were only five zoned cities, but in 1930 there were nearly a thousand. Even cities of less than 5,000 people have lately begun to adopt zoning ordinances. The highest proportion of zoned cities are those having more than 100,000 people.

Why Zone? The purpose of zoning is to prevent the intrusion into a particular zone of an unwelcome building or activity. Of course the value of the land determines in some measure the use to which it will be put. Land is so valuable in the downtown district that any business requiring considerable space in relation to its earnings cannot remain there. A furniture store, a showroom for used cars, or a storage warehouse will seek a cheaper location. Banks, hotels, department stores, tall office buildings, theaters, and wholesalers' display rooms will concentrate downtown because they can afford the most advantageous location. Heavy industries, which once had to remain close to the docks and the freight yards, have practically all moved out into the suburbs since the advent of the motor truck. Zoning regulations in the downtown area are not so much designed to control the use of the land as to determine the height and bulk of new buildings, the percentage of the land which may be covered, and the distance the building is to be set back from the street.

Outside the center of the city land is cheaper, and there is accordingly a greater need to regulate its use. A residential street should not be damaged by allowing a steam laundry, a saloon, a garage, or a stable to be conducted there. Industries should be grouped close together, and no dwellings should be allowed between them, since proper living conditions can hardly be provided in an industrial zone. Too large a percentage of the land should not be occupied by buildings, nor should a builder be permitted to shut out the light and air of

an existing structure. Zoning, wisely worked out and strictly enforced, can prevent the blighting which otherwise is always going on. It aims to preserve the value of a given area for a particular use, thus safeguarding the investment of the first-comers.

Making a Master Plan. Zoning is only a preliminary phase in the planning of a city. After zoning has been tried, the citizens invariably discover that it will not by itself create a better city. Then, perhaps, a demand arises for the creation of a long-range master plan. Sometimes an official planning board is established; often it is appointed by the Chamber of Commerce or some civic organization.

A plan can only be drawn up after a careful study of the community. First of all, a map must be made showing all the existing streets, transportation lines, public utilities, parks, waterways, and surface features. Next, a "present-use" map is drawn to show all the existing buildings and lots and how they are used. Then, the population and industrial trends must be studied, that future growth may be forecast. Businessmen, civic leaders, and city officials are asked to indicate their plans and the needs of the city as they see them. In drawing up the plan the board has to consider the chief function of the city — is it manufacturing, commerce, education, government, the entertainment of pleasure seekers, or a combination of these? How can the physical structure of the city be designed to promote these functions and at the same time to secure health, safety, order, convenience, and beauty?

After the plan is made the planning board has the more difficult task of arousing popular interest and support. The planning board has no power to enforce its plan. At most it may succeed in having zoning ordinances adopted. Unless the city officials and businessmen accept the plan and conform to it, it remains a

piece of paper. The citizens are willing enough to put a piecemeal plan into effect — to widen a street or build a playground — but they are likely to lose interest in a long-term project. Being absorbed in their own affairs, they give little thought to the creation of a better city ten or twenty or thirty years hence. City planning is, then, primarily an educational process. The planners must create and keep before the people the vision of the city as it might become. When the people understand the values to be achieved through the carrying out of the plan, they will themselves be city planners.

Economic Arguments for City Planning. The aim of social planning is to supply as large and rich an assortment as is possible of the goods and services desired by modern man. It follows that these goods should be laid down and these services made available where they can be conveniently consumed by the maximum number of individuals. The metropolitan city is a device for accomplishing these ends. It has grown on a spot from which the richest natural resources can be tapped with the lowest transportation costs. Its functions are the refining and elaborating of raw materials and the offering of every kind of service that human beings wish. In performing these functions it has become highly specialized and diversified.

Yet the metropolis is, as yet, a very inefficient device. Parts of it are terribly congested. There are "bottle-necks" where traffic jams up. On certain streets motor vehicles go no faster than horse-drawn vehicles. The cost of congestion is enormous; on Manhattan Island a few years ago it was set at \$500,000 a day. Because of the excessive crowding, noise, and confusion, the productivity of city workers is reduced. They are fatigued by the difficulties of getting to wherever they want to go, by the bad air, the din, and the other discomforts of the present-day city. Denied adequate space for rec-

reation and healthful housing, in their free time they do not fully restore the energy used up by the day's work. None of these conditions is unavoidable. The remedy for each of them is to be sought through city planning.

Four Economic Aims in Planning a City. Had every city been built according to a plan, incalculable losses in money and human welfare would have been prevented. Planning after a city is built is limited to reordering the worst areas, and the avoidance of mistakes in whatever new construction is undertaken by public or private builders. There are four practical objectives to work for:

1. *To avoid the mispending of public money.* Every city has wasted money for lack of a long-term plan. Streets are surfaced at great expense, and a short time later have to be dug up to install new water pipes or gas mains. Subdivisions are provided by the city with streets and sewers, only to lie unused because the population does not increase so rapidly as the speculators hoped. Municipal buildings are scattered about instead of being grouped in a convenient and beautiful civic center. Downtown streets have to be widened by tearing down costly buildings, because the enormous activity of the center was not foreseen. A plan based on careful study of population trends would prevent numberless mistakes. The case was well stated by Charles D. Norton, first chairman of the Committee for the Regional Plan of New York:

The money which will carry out the Plan of New York is the money which New York will spend in any event, whether it has a plan or not. With a city plan public expenditures can proceed along permanent lines; without it public expenditures are diverted into projects which are not enduring and are, therefore, wasteful. Each city administration adopts its own new policy and often undoes the work of its predecessors. In answering this same question in Chicago it was found after

investigation that upon public improvements, wrongly planned because no one had looked ahead, and which were later destroyed and replaced, the city had spent between 1871 and 1908 no less than \$225,000,000. To end such waste; to bring order out of a disorder that may be characterized as chaos; to make convenience and thrift take the place of discomfort and extravagance; to realize the potentialities of commerce and industry as well as of beauty and comfort and pleasure — these are the objectives of a city plan.

2. *The improvement of the city as a productive piece of economic machinery.* The city may be thought of as the floor space of a factory. How can the traffic be routed and how can the different activities be located so as to produce the maximum efficiency? A city contains land of different qualities — some high, some low, some flat, some uneven, some near the water or other natural lines of communication, and some apart from them. Can some of this land be put to better or fuller use than that to which it is now devoted? Which is best suited to manufacturing, which to retail or wholesale selling, and which to residences, schools, and parks? How can tracts used for each purpose be related to one another so as to avoid unnecessary carrying of people and hauling of goods?

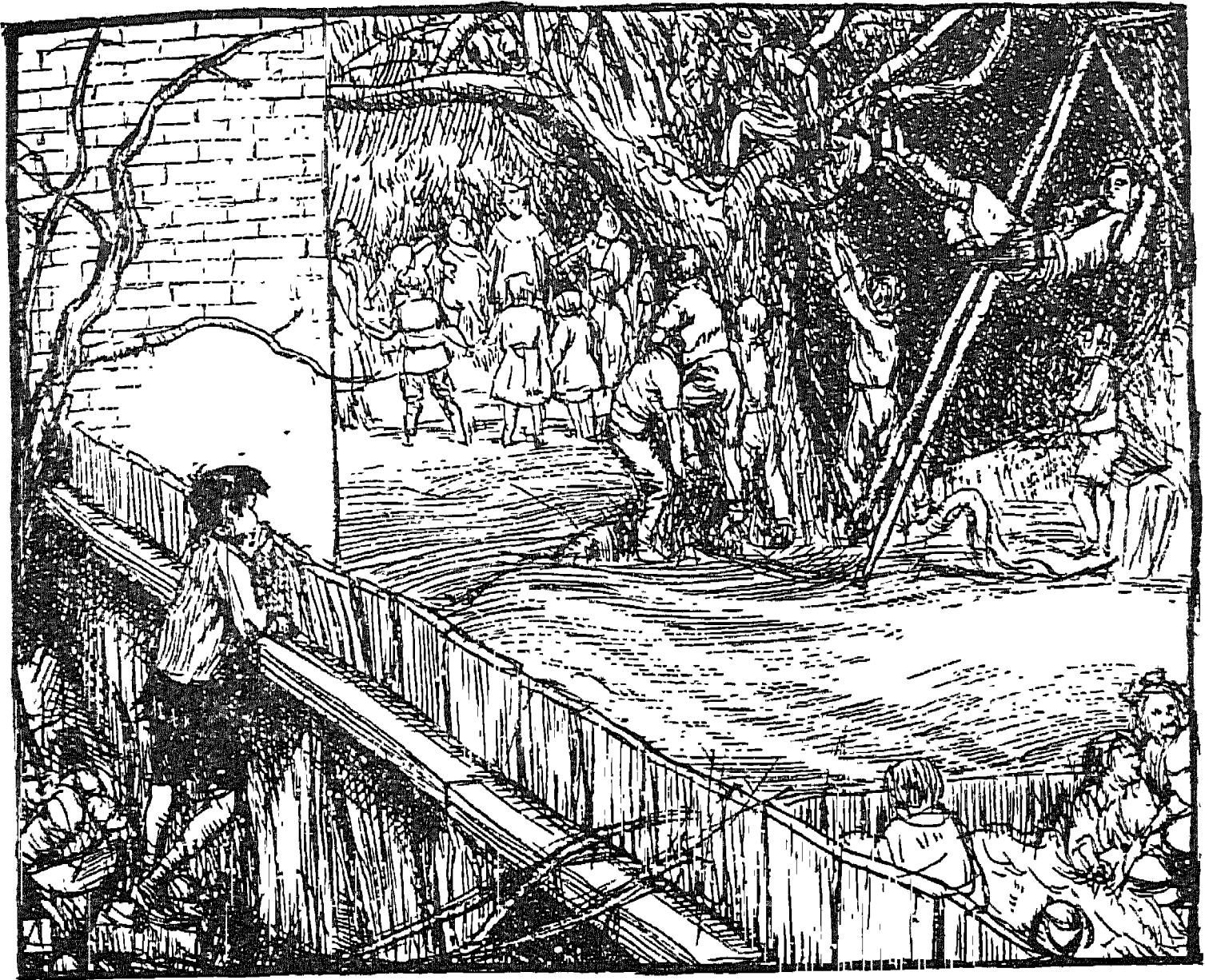
Land near the center of a city should be used as fully as possible. If it is now occupied by slums and industries it would be more fully used were the slums torn down, the industries relocated in a suburban industrial zone, and the space given over to modern apartments and to parks. Congestion downtown can be cut substantially by a circular belt-line railway and one or more circular highways on the edge of the city. This would save many people from having to go into the center and then out again in moving between two points on the outskirts. The better organization of transportation, and the fuller use of the available land and waterways would, in prac-

tically any city, reduce the cost of doing business and providing services. For instance, more people could get to the theaters, exhibitions, and big stores. Doctors could reach more patients in a day. Fire trucks could get about more quickly, so that fewer would be needed.

3. *The protection of the investments of individual businessmen and property owners.* When a comprehensive plan has been made for a city, based on its industrial and population trends, the individual businessman can make his own plans with far more certainty. He can locate his plant with some assurance that it is neither unnecessary nor misplaced. Without this information he may have to move after a short time to a more suitable location, thereby losing part or all of his investment. Residential property is also a safer investment in a planned and zoned city. In unzoned cities, many a street of apartment houses has been damaged by the encroachment of factories, garages, or amusements of low quality. Or a section of single-family homes has declined in value because an apartment house has made its appearance there. The master plan, implemented with zoning ordinances, helps stabilize the use of land in each part of the city, thus safeguarding the investments of individuals.

4. *The stabilizing of city revenues.* The blighting of an area not only hurts those who own property there, but causes a heavy falling-off in city revenues. Philadelphia is typical in this respect of numerous large cities. Much of its downtown area has been blighted. This area has been losing population ever since 1860; in 1930 it had 55,859 residents compared with 80,400 a century earlier. The assessable value in six wards was \$3,629,066 less in 1931 than in 1930, and in twenty-three wards was \$13,276,000 less. Moreover, these wards contributed a large proportion of the tax delinquencies within the city.

The drainage of population from the centers of cities



PLAYGROUNDS CONTRIBUTE TO PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

toward the suburbs has been very pronounced in recent years. It is due to the undesirable living conditions that obtain in and near the center — conditions that could be corrected. A few shortsighted businessmen should not be allowed to jeopardize the investments of many others, and thus to imperil the revenues of the city. Nor should the good will of thousands of individual businessmen be wasted for lack of a plan that would co-ordinate all their enterprises into a stable, effective, and well-balanced whole.

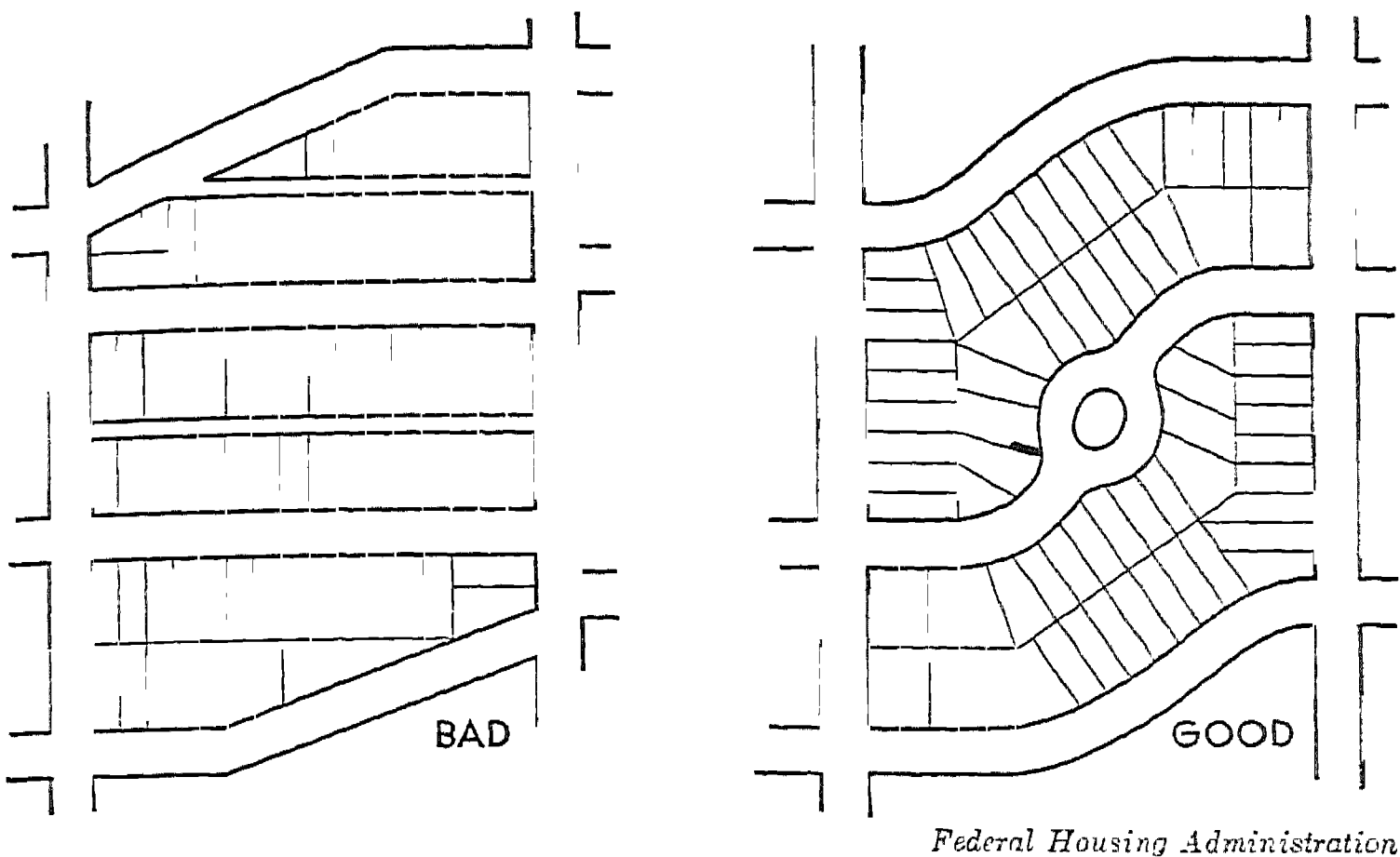
Making the City More Livable. Vitruvius, architect of Rome during the first century, held that civic planning is the most urgent task of a civilized society. Rome was only one of many ancient cities laid out with much thought for healthfulness and a beautiful appearance. During the Middle Ages city planning was neglected.

This neglect continued until the twentieth century. Although thousands of new cities were growing up, the doctrine of *laissez-faire* was opposed to any regulation of the uses of private property. The consequences of the failure to regulate have been disastrous, both to the public at large and to the property owners. Now the idea of city planning is once again in the foreground. The courts have upheld the right of the community to restrict the uses of property, not only to promote the safety, health, and comfort of the public, but also to avoid offense to the eye.

Insofar as a city does not create conditions in which all its people have a reasonable chance to live long and happily, it is a failure. American cities have some of the worst slums in the whole world, as well as the highest crime rate. Until this situation is overcome our whole civilization is endangered. Already the United States has paid a heavy price for the failure of its cities. In the words of Herbert Hoover:

The lack of adequate open spaces, of playgrounds and parks, the congestion of streets, the misery of tenement life and its repercussions upon each new generation, are an untold charge against our American life. Our cities do not produce their full contribution to the sinews of American life and American character. The moral and social issues can only be solved by a new conception of city building.

Finding Space for Recreation. Large cities have far too little space in parks, playgrounds, and playfields. The need has been recognized; the problem is to find the land. Recently several cities have purchased land along their rivers or water front for development as parks and bathing beaches. Generally a considerable part of a city's water front is occupied by coal dumps, ramshackle dwellings, half-idle wharfs, warehouses, and freight yards. A much fuller use of this land results when it is converted



Two Kinds of Subdivision Plotting

Bad plotting shows in streets that do not meet at intersections. Unnecessary streets and alleys create traffic hazards and increase construction cost.

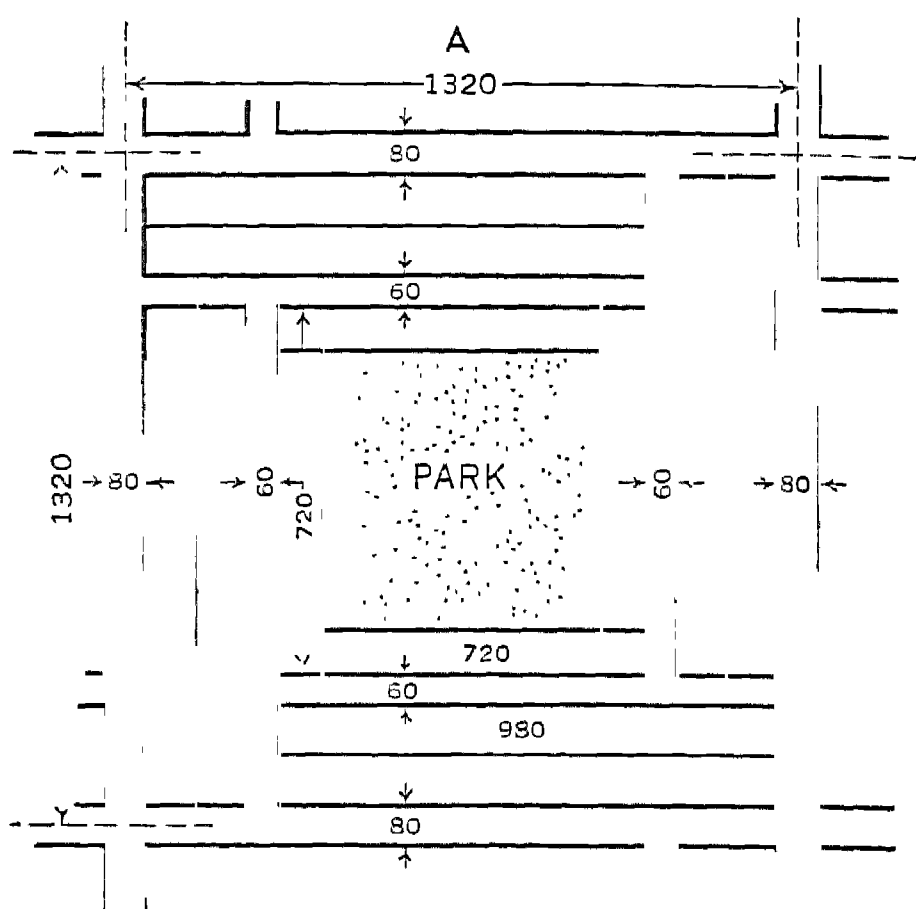
Good plotting provides streets that meet with no jogs. Wasteful, pointed lots are eliminated and streets cross at right angles.

into a recreational area. Undoubtedly much land in the blighted areas, now occupied by half-empty buildings and unnecessary minor streets, should and will be reclaimed for neighborhood parks and playgrounds. The cost to the city can frequently be met by assessments against near-by landowners whose holdings have increased in value as a result of the improvement.

Mr. Henry Wright has shown that a simple change in the layout of the city streets would give a considerable amount of park space in the interior of blocks. Instead of the common gridiron pattern in which every house faces a through street, the space occupied by ten ordinary blocks (forty acres) would be laid out as a superblock. Through streets would border the superblock, but would not cross it. The space saved from unnecessary streets would give six acres of park in a forty-acre subdivision. Furthermore, the saving in the cost of providing utilities

and streets would enable the lots to be sold cheaper than is possible under the gridiron plan. The advantages of the superblock are indicated by the diagrams on this page and page 477.

Planning for Self-Contained Neighborhoods. Express highways chop a community into "islands" surrounded by streams of traffic. The crossing of these streams



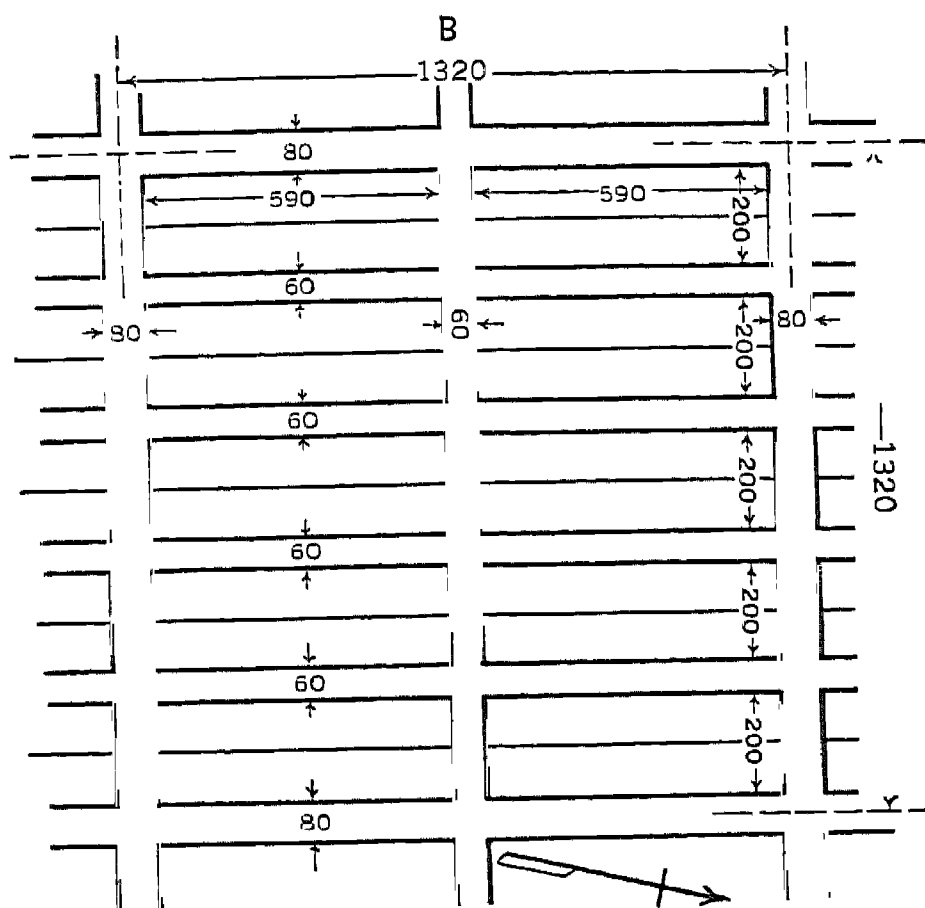
Housing America by the editors of Fortune Magazine

The Superblock Occupies the Space of Ten Ordinary Blocks

Because of fewer streets, water mains, and sewers, the lots can be sold for less than under the gridiron plan. Through streets border but do not cross the superblock. Six acres out of the total of forty acres is reserved for the park.

delays traffic and endangers life. By reducing the number of errands which each individual has to do outside his own island, the safety and convenience of city life would be greatly furthered. To accomplish this, each island should be planned as a neighborhood unit, with its own school, playground, church, motion-picture theater, community center, retail stores, barber shops, and the like. The streets within the island should be so

designed as to discourage through traffic. Within each unit should live enough people to maintain an elementary school of economical and effective size. It is desirable that children should not have to walk more than half a mile to reach school or a quarter of a mile to reach a playground. In fact a playground is little used by children living more than a quarter-mile away. Accordingly, an area half a mile square is a good size for a neighbor-



Housing America by the editors of Fortune Magazine

The Gridiron Plan Should Be Discarded

This is the same area as the superblock on the opposite page. Every street is a through street and there is no space reserved for a park.

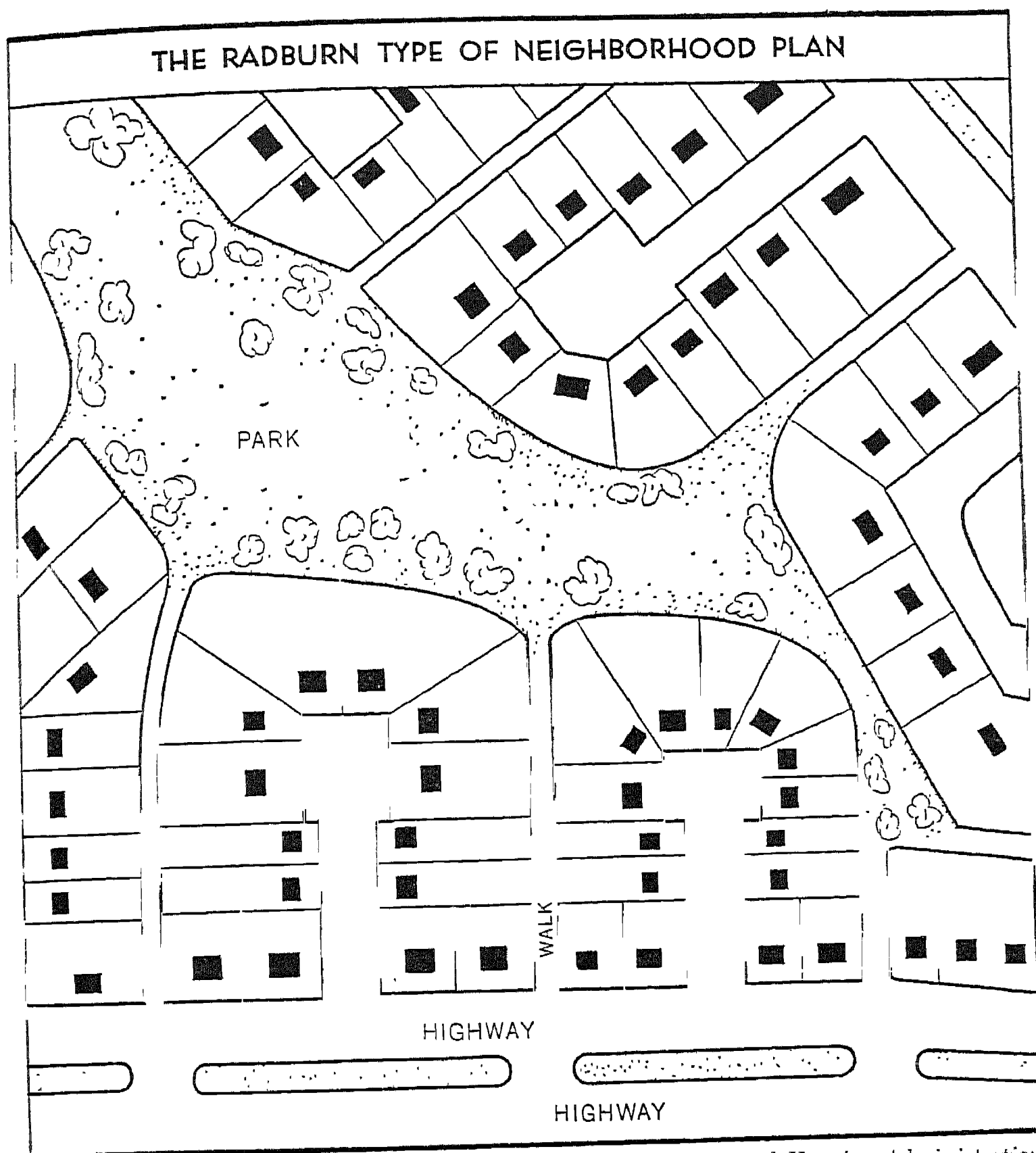
hood unit in the suburbs. In a thickly settled district the unit would be smaller. A single superblock would make a neighborhood unit if apartment houses were built upon it.

The ideal population of a neighborhood is thought to be about five thousand people. To support its own school, recreational area, community center, and stores, it should not be under two thousand. For convenience and neighborhood spirit it should not exceed ten thousand. For most of their employment, for a high school, college,

and museum, for department stores and banks, the people would probably need to go outside the neighborhood.

To create neighborhood units within established cities is difficult but not impossible. The rebuilding of a blighted area offers the best opportunity to consolidate small blocks into a superblock at the center of which is space for a park. Some of the slum clearance projects aided by the federal government have been designed in this way. A few private housing projects have also utilized this principle. Unfortunately a single private agency can seldom acquire land enough in a built-up district to lay out a superblock.

On subdivisions on the outskirts of cities there is little reason for perpetuating the old-fashioned gridiron system. Here newer methods of planning can easily be applied. What may be accomplished by intelligent planning in a suburban development has been demonstrated at Radburn, New Jersey. Begun in 1928 by the City Housing Corporation, it is the first town ever built in which the place of the automobile is fully provided for. The community of Radburn is laid out in large blocks surrounded by streets for through traffic. The houses face a walk instead of a street. When the walk reaches the highway, it either dips beneath or is carried over the highway, insuring safety to pedestrians. The rear entrance of each house is on a short, blind lane. Thus each house is reachable by automobile, yet there is no through traffic within the block. At the center of the neighborhood in a park is a modern school and community building with playfields, swimming pool, auditorium, and the like. To reach this center the residents need not cross a highway. If the original plans are carried out, Radburn will ultimately consist of several neighborhoods, with a total population of not over forty thousand people. A city of this size should enjoy good govern-



Federal Housing Administration

This delightful plan shows a series of cul-de-sacs (dead-end streets) grouped in a superblock around a central park. The traffic highways border the superblock. The houses face away from the highway into front yards and parks. The cul-de-sac roadways are service drives and give access to the rear of the houses.

ment, for it is not too large to enlist civic interest and responsibility. Yet it is large enough to support department stores, banks, theaters, a junior college, and to enjoy most of the advantages of city life. Thus far Radburn is occupied by commuters. Should industries come, it is planned to group them at terminals on

the edges of the community, that trucks and railroads should not pass through the residential areas.

Regional Planning. An adequate plan for a city, especially for a metropolis, cannot stop at political boundaries. In planning its principal thoroughfares, its bridges, its water-front development, the city must co-operate with its neighbors. Its own zoning regulations afford little protection near its boundaries. Furthermore, many cities buy large recreational tracts in the suburbs. Such tracts must be related to the plans of neighboring communities. City planning is fast changing into regional planning. An illustration is found in the Regional Plan of New York, covering 5,528 square miles, 420 municipalities, and ten million people.

It is thought that the city of the future will be less compact than the present-day city. Perhaps it will occupy a great district so carefully laid out, and with such excellent transportation facilities, that its people may live close to their work in a semirural environment. Evidence of this trend is seen in the movement of industry and of population into the suburbs; the centers of the larger metropolitan cities have been losing population for years.

Summary. That evil follows when there is too little social control over the actions of individuals is clearly shown by nearly every modern city. The colossal waste of money, the disregard for the health, safety, and happiness of the inhabitants, is evident to all. Yet it is nobody's fault — it is due to the absence of collective planning and control.

After almost two thousand years of neglect, the necessity for civic planning is once more being recognized. The social machinery for making and carrying out city plans is being developed. Like other social machinery, it will not work until it is strongly supported by public

opinion. That is why city planning must go hand in hand with education. The people will first become aware of the kind of city they reasonably could have in the near future; then they will insist that their elected officials help them to attain it. Finally, the duty of every individual to conform to the accepted plan for the city, to do nothing to injure or hold back its fulfillment, will become part of the morals to which all are expected to conform. Social control will have triumphed.

WORD STUDY

master plan
subdivision

superblock
zoning

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why should not the use of each piece of land in the city be decided by its owner?
2. What can zoning accomplish in the downtown district? In the surrounding areas where land is cheaper?
3. Indicate the steps in drawing up a master plan.
4. Why is city planning primarily an educational process?
5. What is the object of social planning? What are the merits and faults of the great city as a device for accomplishing this object?
6. Discuss the planning of a city as the floor space of a huge factory.
7. What arguments for city planning could be given to property owners and businessmen chiefly interested in their own financial advantage?
8. The cost of creating parks within a city is often met in what manner? Is this just?
9. What are the advantages of the superblock layout? Refer to the diagrams on pp. 476 and 477.
10. What advantages can be obtained by the creation of the self-contained neighborhood? What should be the area and population of such a neighborhood unit?

11. The ideal size for a city is thought by some to be 40,000 people. What merits has this size of city over a smaller city? Over a much larger one?
12. Why does city planning tend to become regional planning?
13. Do you think the future cities could and should be less compact than the present cities? What changes in transportation arrangements would make this possible?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Prepare a list of the defects of your community that are chargeable to the lack of a master plan. Can some of these be overcome by planning all future building?
2. Does your community have any zoning ordinances? What do they provide? Are they enforced?
3. Does your community have a master plan, or is one in process of being formulated? Who assisted in its making? Is it being carried out? Who is responsible for keeping it up-to-date? Can you obtain a copy of it, with maps, for your classroom?
4. If your community has not begun to plan its future development, how could it be made aware of the need for so doing? Could your school help to create the necessary public interest? Are there civic leaders, such as the editor of the local newspaper or the president of the Chamber of Commerce, who are already concerned with meeting this need? With your co-operation, would they hold a public meeting or a forum on the subject?
5. Can you discover examples of waste in the spending of public money in your community due to the failure to look far enough ahead?
6. Find out what proportion of the area of your community is devoted to parks and other public recreational space. What proportion is considered sufficient by city planners? If your community needs additional recreational space, where could it be found?
7. What has the city plan to do with: (1) the death rate, (2) the tax rate, (3) the growth of the population, (4) the value of real estate, (5) the risk of a citywide fire, (6) the

- prevention of street accidents, (7) the cost of carrying on a business downtown, which involves the transportation of large numbers of people or large amounts of goods, (8) the comfort of the people who live in the city?
8. The metropolitan city grows on a spot from which the richest natural resources can be tapped with the lowest transportation costs. On a map of the United States indicate cities of which this is clearly true. Point out their unusual natural advantages, and show the source of their leading raw materials.
 9. Report to the class on the garden city idea of Ebenezer Howard, and how it took material form in Letchworth, England, and elsewhere. See article "Garden Cities" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and in the *Americana* encyclopedia.
 10. What sort of town is best adapted to the motor age? In answering this question look at diagrams of the town of Radburn, New Jersey, and of the new towns planned by the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Department of Agriculture. Consult the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* for recent articles on city planning.
 11. What is the chief function of your community, that is, upon what activity do most of the citizens depend for a livelihood? Do some of the minor industries interfere with, or detract from this? Can you think of ways in which city planning might promote the principal function of your community?

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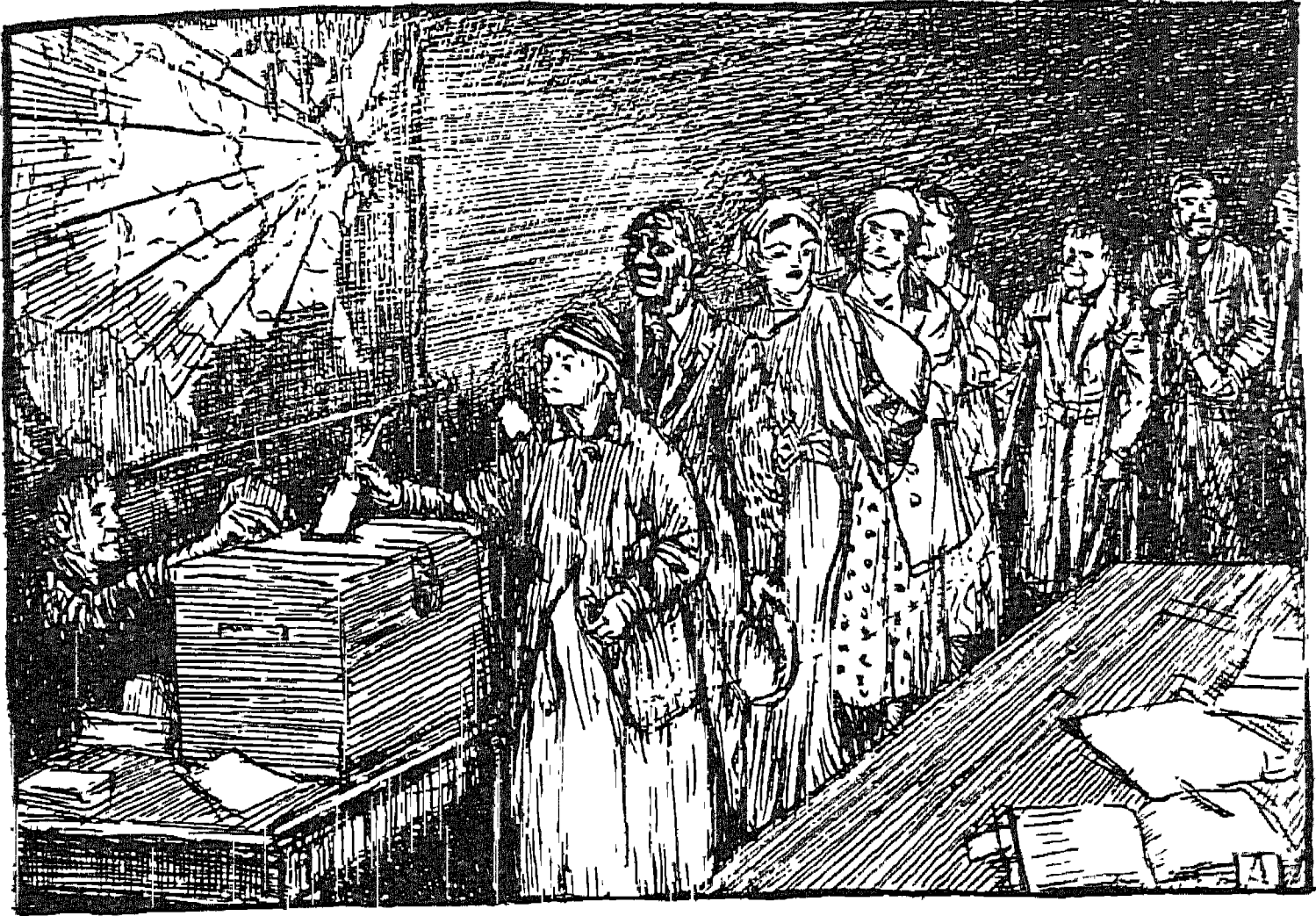
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UNIT X



GOVERNMENT AS THE COMMON WILL

CHAPTER XXII. THE RISE OF THE MODERN STATE. The scope and the limitations of government. Five stages in the development of the modern constitutional state: early Teutonic state; feudal state; absolutist state; parliamentary state; democratic state. Proper sphere of government. Growth of the public service state.

CHAPTER XXIII. GOVERNMENT BY PUBLIC OPINION. Two types of public opinion. Who takes part in making public opinion. Its limitations. Essentials for sound public opinion. The menace of propaganda.

CHAPTER XXII

THE RISE OF THE MODERN STATE

What is the principal advantage of the democratic form of government as compared to a dictatorship?

By what stages did modern constitutional government come into being?

What is the natural sphere of government?

Why is the tradition of local self-government everywhere losing ground?

UNDER DEMOCRACY the people will get the worst government they are willing to tolerate; and under Democracy the people can get the best government they are willing to work for. EDWARD HOWARD GRIGGS

The Scope and the Limitations of Government

What Is the State? A state is a people organized for political purposes. That is, they have laws, and a central authority, the government, to enforce the laws and punish violators. In a primitive tribe the central authority may be vested in the chief or in a council of elders.

The modern state occupies a definite territory, but among nomads the state travels wherever the people go. When the Teutonic tribes poured into the Roman Empire, they brought their kings and laws with them. Their statehood had lasted through years of migration.

How the State Differs from Other Institutions. The state is the only organization in the modern world in which membership is not voluntary. Unless you can find refuge in another state, you are obliged to submit to the state where you reside. You can withdraw from a church, a school, or a club, but it is extraordinarily

difficult to withdraw from the state. For this reason the state is the most powerful of institutions. In the last analysis it can override any other form of authority, even that of religion.

The state considers and regulates a greater variety of affairs than does any other institution. The church deals mostly with religious matters, the school with education, the stock exchange with securities. The state may consider every interest of the people. In fact, the mass of men hold it responsible for everything that goes wrong. Consequently, it is eventually obliged to take over every task that it can do better than other institutions. Thus it has acquired a portion of the educational, disciplinary, and protective functions of the family. It has also taken up many tasks formerly performed by churches and charitable agencies. This expansion of authority is a leading characteristic of all modern states.

In yet another way the state differs from other institutions. The masses look to the state as the final judge and rectifier of every abuse. The state, they believe, represents the entire people; in the long run it will not consent to allow some to be exploited by the rest; what is needed is to give every citizen a chance to make his grievances heard. This belief leads to the invention of new devices (the petition, the secret ballot, universal suffrage, etc.) by which the people can more easily express their wishes.

What Is Government? Government is the agent of the state. It exists only for the state and not for itself. It consists of the mechanisms through which the will of the people is expressed and made effective. These mechanisms can be changed whenever the people wish to change them; however, tradition, vested interest, and cultural inertia combine to resist any change.

Yet government is more than mere form or structure.

It is activity. It is what it does. How it operates depends on the pressures that play upon it. There are governments which have the form of democracies but nevertheless are autocratic. Their people are too ignorant to control the machinery that has been set up, so it passes into the hands of those who do know how to manipulate it. When this happens the government will serve the few rather than the many.

What Is Politics? Politics is the science and art of government. A politician is one who has made himself expert in operating the governmental machinery. The ordinary citizen has a certain contempt for the politician, just as in any field the amateur is likely to scoff at the specialist. This attitude is very unfortunate. What our nation needs is more politicians. If every voter knew something about politics, we should be less dependent upon the professional politicians, and could hold them more strictly to account.

Government Rests upon the Common Will. The most essential trait of government is authority — authority to compel obedience to the laws. This authority is always upheld by force. Yet no government has any more authority than is given it by the customs of the people. Custom designates the officials of the government, how they shall be chosen or created, their powers, and their relations to each other and to the people. Thus every system of government, even the most primitive, rests upon a constitution, although its provisions may never have been written down.

In a primitive tribe the strongest or bravest man is generally regarded as the ruler in time of war. In time of peace the cleverest medicine man may be regarded as ruler. Or perhaps government is vested in a council of elders, or in a hereditary king. Whoever the ruler, he cannot rule simply according to his own ideas. He can no more transgress the customs of the tribe than

can his subjects. When he speaks, it is in the name of the tribe. All are equally bound by the traditional ways. So it is with the ruler of a great nation. He may imagine that he possesses absolute power, but, except in an emergency, his actions seldom depart from the customary grooves. Therefore his people are willing to obey him.

The Power of an Alien Conqueror Is Limited. When a nation is subdued by an alien conqueror, its local laws are rarely disturbed. The new ruler can wring taxes from the subject people, but he cannot forcibly change any considerable number of their customs. For instance, Great Britain has scarcely altered the age-long folkways of India. She has built roads and schools and hospitals and gathered taxes, but she has not been able to abolish child marriage. That must wait until the majority of the natives are willing for the change. To be sure, a mighty British army stationed in India, with a garrison in every village, might, so long as it remained, prevent the marriage of children. But this is not practicable. It would be, not government, but *civil war*. Persuasion and education will yield more lasting results at far less cost.

A subject people will gradually tend to accept the customs of their conquerors, for it is human to imitate those who have the greatest prestige. Already the better educated and the wealthier Indians have adopted Western ways; their example is bound to be copied by the lower classes. Thus, in the long run, fashion proves superior to military force.

The Power of a Dictator Is Limited. Government is simply the executive organ of a people. It expresses their common will. If a dictator seizes the government and continues in power, it is certain that the masses are either willing or indifferent. If they have been accustomed to the sway of an autocratic king or ruling

class, they may scarcely notice the change of rulers. However, if they have been used to self-government, they will tolerate a dictator only under very special circumstances, such as war or a prolonged domestic emergency. Confronted by danger from without or by grave disorder within their country, they may welcome the appearance of a strong man at the head of the government.

A dictator can remain in power long only under two conditions: (1) he must make himself popular with the masses, and (2) he must vigorously suppress all opposition. The larger the number who oppose him, the more precarious is his position. He cannot rely on the army to enforce orders which are strongly opposed by the masses, for the soldiers will waver between loyalty to their relatives and loyalty to their leader. They may easily turn against him and throw him from power.

Local police and local soldiery are never inclined to take any step which would be unpopular in their community. Therefore, in putting down an uprising, a despotic ruler depends on troops imported into the community from a distance. Such troops will be more firm in their loyalty to him than local troops and less sympathetic with the people who are revolting.

What Happens When There Is No Common Will? On some matters with which government deals, the people are confused and divided. There is no common will. Therefore the officials who have the power to act may consult only their own opinions and desires. In practice these officials are likely to decide according to the wishes of some organized minority — Big Business, the farm bloc, or the veterans.

How Can a Common Will Emerge? As the people become more enlightened they take interest in a wider range of issues. They discuss and make up their minds about these issues. When this occurs, the government

must consider their opinions. If the majority of the people have reached the same conclusion, then the government is obliged to conform to it. Witness the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, giving Congress the power to tax incomes, and the repeal of the prohibition amendment.

Those countries where the average level of education is highest are also the most democratic. *This is true regardless of the form of the government.* Should a dictator be accepted, his power to dictate is limited to fields wherein the people are not sure what they want. Wherever there is a settled public opinion, he must heed it. In countries where the people are illiterate, the power of a dictator is great. The people are not aware of what their government is doing. They have no clear ideas as to how most of the affairs of government should be carried on. Mexico, although democratic in form, is an autocracy in fact. So long as the masses of Mexicans are ignorant, their political power will not reach beyond the affairs of their own village.

In proportion as a people understand the questions that confront the government, they assume direction of it. Therefore, the greater the proportion of intelligent citizens, the more democratic the state, and the greater their ignorance, the more autocratic the state. No existing government is in all its policies directed by the people.

The advantage of the democratic form of government is the ease with which the common will can be expressed, when there is a common will. Furthermore, a democracy stimulates its citizens to think about public questions which otherwise they might be satisfied to leave wholly to their rulers. Thus a common will has more chance to come into being.

Government Can Only Control Externals. So long as the majority of people do not oppose their government,

it has power to regulate the external relations of men. Sometimes government has tried to control men's inner attitudes as well, but in this it is bound to fail. Legislation can, for instance, never be successful in altering religious ideas. It might compel everyone to attend a state church, but it could not compel men to believe its doctrines. It might abolish a church supported by a minority, but it could not abolish the belief in God. Race prejudice cannot be legislated out of existence; until public opinion changes, devices will be found to keep many southern Negroes from voting. Statutes designed to keep certain teachings of science out of the schools cannot succeed; the forbidden idea will enter under another name. It has been suggested that eligible persons who fail to vote should be fined. While this might cause more citizens to go to the polls, it could hardly give them any real interest in voting. Probably the number of blank or spoiled ballots would rise alarmingly.

To be enforceable a statute must meet two tests: (1) it must be backed by public opinion, and (2) it must confine itself to regulating the outward forms of conduct. (See p. 66.)

Five Stages in the Development of the Constitutional State

What Is a Constitutional Government? Every government is guided by customary law that determines what it may and may not do. Thus every government rests upon a constitution, written or unwritten. This fact has not always been understood, as the phrase "constitutional government" bears witness. The phrase is used to refer to those governments which have a representative assembly, and in which a considerable proportion of the adult citizens are entitled to vote. Some constitutional governments are republics, and some are limited



THE FOLKMOT OF THE PRIMITIVE TEUTONS WAS A GATHERING OF WARRIORS TO SETTLE QUESTIONS OF THE TRIBAL STATE

monarchies with the power of the king reduced almost to zero. The modern type of constitutional government developed in western Europe. It has passed through five stages, although there is no definite dividing line between them.

The Early Teutonic State. First was the tribal state of the primitive Teutons. Their most characteristic institution was the *folk moot* — a meeting of all adult males bearing arms. Every important question was settled by the *folk moot*. There was also a council of elders who prepared questions to be submitted to the *folk moot* and decided minor matters. Law was not yet clearly distinguished from religious and social customs. In time of war the bravest or most capable warrior became the chieftain.

Eventually the small separate tribes combined into

federations for mutual protection. The strongest war leader in the federation became king. When his popularity or vigor declined, some new leader assumed the position of king. The affairs of each tribe were still directed by its *folk moot*. Matters affecting the entire nation were decided by a council of wise men in which each tribe was represented. Representation, a most important social invention, is thought to have originated among the Teutons. At times the council was supreme, but in war the king was dominant. These early Teutonic states were not bound to any particular territory. The people were knit together by real or imaginary kinship, and by a common language, religion, and law. Their migrations across Europe did not disturb their nationhood or their government.

The government of the tribal state was democratic. The leader maintained his power by common consent. There were no pronounced social classes having distinct interests; hence the leader represented the entire people. It didn't matter much who exercised authority. One man might make a bolder war chief than another, but any chief would be tribal custom in action. At this stage of culture there is little individuality. Uniform experience produces uniform people. Inflexible custom controls every act; originality is scarcely possible. Furthermore, the individual exists only for society. His development, his happiness, even his life, are never considered apart from the welfare of society. That an individual should risk the safety of the tribe to save his own life, or that he should break a taboo to give himself pleasure, is incomprehensible. Almost as with communities of ants and bees, the group is everything, the individual nothing.

The Feudal State. Next came feudalism. This commonly, but not always, resulted when one nation subjugated another and settled down among them. The

conquered people became either outright slaves, or serfs permanently attached to the soil and owing labor and produce to the landlord. The conquerors maintained their authority by force of arms. They might be fewer in number than their subjects; but the war horses, the armor, the steel weapons, the strategic locations, and above all, the wealth of the country, were in their hands. They built an elaborate military machine against which the slaves and serfs were powerless. Government was wholly in the hands of the conquerors and considered only their interests. Obviously, however, the conquerors would not find it profitable to interfere with the family and religious customs of their subjects. Some intermarriage occurred, and in time the two cultures blended together. The ruling class thus became more conscious of the needs and complaints of the subjugated group. Yet the subjugated could not win any voice in the government until they escaped from slavery and serfdom.

With the growth of cities many serfs ran away from the villages and became freemen in the towns. Those who became members of the craft guilds acquired genuine political power. The guilds were not only self-governing bodies, but they were clamoring for a share in the ruling of the kingdom. After the Middle Ages, serfdom was gradually replaced by the system of cash rents; this transformed the serfs into freemen who could go wherever they were offered more rights.

Let us look for a moment at the feudal organization by which the conquerors maintained their dominance. Each of the invaders, according to his rank, received a share of the conquered territory. The leaders divided the country into baronies. Each baron parceled out some of his land among his immediate followers in return for their continued allegiance and service. These in turn divided part of their holdings with their fol-

lowers. The common soldiers received the smallest holdings. Every man owed allegiance and military service to his superior. At the bottom of the scale were the serfs (the conquered natives and others), who owed labor and produce to their landlord.

There was no central authority in the feudal state. The king's funds and followers came only from his own estates. The other great lords were his rivals, fighting him and each other in hopes of winning more land. Instead of general obedience to a central authority, government consisted of personal obedience to one's superior. No one took orders except from his immediate master.

Two important political ideas emerged during the feudal period. First, the rights of a lord depend on the fulfillment of his duties to his tenants. Rulers and subjects have a mutual responsibility. Every obligation of the subject toward his superior is in return for protection, land, or other privileges. If either subject or lord fails to fulfill his obligations, the other's obligations likewise cease. Second, the freeman is not bound by legislation or taxation unless he has a voice in its making.

Representation was the device by which the freemen and nobles could have a share in decisions that affected them. In England each township sent four selected men to the county court. To the great council called from time to time by the English king, the barons and bishops assembled from all over the realm. Eventually any class or group that was not represented in the government came to feel that it had a grievance. The growing cities demanded and received the right to send burgesses to the council, and the counties received the right to send knights. Thus four classes were represented — nobles, clergy, landed gentry, and townsmen. These classes struggled among themselves for power. Each wanted to govern in its own interests. The nobles sometimes dominated the king, and so at times did the

bishops. As yet there was no idea of a unified state led by the king.

The Absolutist State. Late in the Middle Ages the feudal system declined. The king was recognized as the head of the nation, to whom all owed allegiance. The rival and conflicting authorities were now subordinate to him. One sign of this is the fact that the people could appeal to the king for the righting of wrongs; he was thought to represent the entire nation. Judges appointed by the king traveled from one local court to another. Although they were bound to decide cases according to local customs, they ignored minor differences between districts. This tended to unify the law throughout the kingdom. Thus the English common law grew up. (See pp. 62–63.) In countries on the continent the judges continually referred to the old Roman law in deciding doubtful cases; the result was that in each country a uniform legal system emerged.

Among the influences that created the absolutist state was the growth of a money economy. Money payments replaced payments in goods and labor; this destroyed serfdom. A tenant, unlike a serf, was at liberty to leave his village; he owed his landlord nothing except rent. This change from serfdom to tenancy greatly weakened the political power of the nobles. Moreover, the substitution of money taxes for taxes paid in produce strengthened the king. Taxes paid in produce could not be transported far, but the king could collect money taxes from his whole kingdom. This greatly enlarged his revenues and prestige at the expense of the nobles. Furthermore, the introduction of firearms and gunpowder enabled the king to build an efficient central army, thus robbing the feudal lords and knights of their military importance. Once again we note how material changes help to bring about changes in ideas, laws, and organization.

The Parliamentary State. In England the Revolution of 1688–89 established Parliament as the supreme power of the land. The king was henceforth the servant of Parliament. He could not levy taxes, suspend the operation of the laws, or maintain a standing army except by consent of Parliament. He was reduced to a symbol of national unity. Active leadership in politics was assumed by the prime minister, the head of the majority party in the lower house. The cabinet took its modern form as a committee of Parliament.

Government was still in the hands of the upper classes. The suffrage was narrow and unequal; only the well-to-do could vote. The upper house had more power than the lower. As its members were elected for life, it was not responsive to public opinion. The dawning political consciousness of the middle and lower classes had not yet been felt, but would eventually demand expression in the government. After the Industrial Revolution, the middle class became so strong that it was able to win substantial concessions from the land-owning upper class. Commencing with the Reform Bill of 1832, the English government became steadily more democratic until now it is as democratic as any government in the world.

The Democratic State. With the Renaissance came the extraordinary new doctrine of individualism. The individual is an end in himself; he cannot rightfully be used as a mere tool for accomplishing another's ends; he is entitled to life and happiness; he should be free to think and to act for himself; government should interfere with his liberty as little as possible. This doctrine was fermenting during the centuries when absolute monarchs were at the height of their power. Beginning with the English Revolution of 1688–89, it led eventually to the overthrow of every absolute monarchy.

Naturally enough, individualism reached its fullest

expression in the New World, where (except for slaves) there were no fixed social classes and where every man could aspire to rise in the world. So individualistic were the American colonists that they could not tolerate the slightest interference from distant England. Indeed, after the Revolution there was a period of years in which it appeared doubtful that any central government would be maintained.

When the Constitution of the United States came to be written, local government was not changed in any way. Not a single person was given the franchise who had formerly been excluded from voting. Who should be permitted to vote was left for each state to decide, and for forty years only a small proportion of adult men had that privilege. In several of the states only about five per cent of the adult men could vote.

The demand for political equality arises when a group becomes conscious that it is in fact equal to those having more privileges. The propertyless came to feel that they were quite as much entitled to vote as the propertied, and by 1832 all but three of the states had adopted universal manhood suffrage. When women decided that their political opinions were worthy of being heard, they too demanded the ballot. As early as 1869, Wyoming, then a territory, gave them this privilege. In 1881 Kansas allowed women to vote in school elections, and other states rapidly followed. In 1893 Colorado, Utah, and Idaho granted women full suffrage. Most of the states had given either partial or full suffrage before a Constitutional amendment in 1920 declared that no person should be denied the ballot on account of sex.

Not only has the suffrage been widened, but in other ways our government has grown steadily more democratic. Devices such as the secret ballot, the direct primary, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall

have given more political power to the people than was even dreamed of half a century ago.

During the same period that democracy was developing in the United States, it also progressed in western Europe and throughout the Anglo-Saxon world. Canada and the other British dominions soon won all the political freedom that the American colonists had had to fight for. Today Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have advanced democratic governments. France, the Scandinavian countries, and Switzerland are also distinguished by an exceptionally high level of democratic government.

Since the World War seventeen nations have accepted dictatorships — a reversion to the absolutist state. In most of these countries democratic institutions had not had time to take root, nor was there the enlightened public upon which democracy depends. Germany is the only country now under a dictatorship in which popular government had actually been achieved before the dictator appeared. Germany's desperate poverty, and the vindictive terms of the Versailles treaty, prepared her people to exchange democracy for the rule of a strong man who promised to right all her wrongs. Democratic government may seem too slow and cumbersome when rapid, decisive action is imperative; nevertheless, when the emergency is passed, the longing of the people for political expression will probably reassert itself. Unfortunately, a dictatorship is a poor preparation for democracy. It keeps the people politically immature. Because their opinion is not asked for, they are less likely to reach an opinion than those in a democratic state.

Traits of a Democratic Government. Any government which we describe as democratic has three outstanding characteristics:

1. *It is the recognized agency of all.* Governmental

action is therefore supposed to conform to the wishes of the majority. Whenever the government is shown to be acting for the advantage of a class, and contrary to the general welfare, it is obliged to retrace its steps. Even though most of the officials come from the propertied class, they realize that they are expected to represent the public as a whole. They try to adjust the interests of various classes and groups, and actually do bring about a working degree of adjustment.

2. *It is transparent.* The people are informed of the acts, decisions, and reports of the government. Diplomacy, too, is supposed to be openly conducted.

3. *The officials are responsive to the public will.* In practice they are responsive only if the public can fix responsibility for a given act and call its author to account. Responsibility is very easily determined in a primitive tribe or in a village and the common will can make itself felt even without the ballot. But in a modern state, government is complex and administered from far away. Only officials in conspicuous posts — such as president, governor, or mayor — can easily be observed and called to account.

The British cabinet system is more responsive to the people than ours. The prime minister is the head of the majority party in the House of Commons. He chooses his cabinet from the members of Parliament, which makes the cabinet a committee of Parliament. All new legislation is proposed by the prime minister with the support of his cabinet. Should the House of Commons refuse to pass an important measure, it is evident that the cabinet no longer has its full confidence. Therefore the cabinet resigns, the House of Commons is dissolved, and a new election is held with but a single issue — the disputed measure. The will of the country is thus made plain within a few weeks. Furthermore, there is no chance for an administration to remain in

office after it has lost a majority in the House. England avoids the deadlock that frequently develops in this country when the President does not represent a majority of Congress.

The Proper Sphere of Government

Is There a Natural Sphere of Government? In the years when our government was being established, individual liberty was tremendously prized. People thought that government imperils individual rights, and they believed that it should be restrained. The natural sphere of government was said to be the *policing* of society to prevent crime and fraud. Nothing that could be left to individuals should be performed by government. This idea found expression in our Constitution.

But a government cannot be encased in a rigid constitutional structure. Whether it rests on customary or on written law, it must expand and adapt itself to changing conditions. Our government found itself constantly taking over new functions, and the Constitution was continually reinterpreted to make this possible.

The concept of the proper sphere of government has likewise undergone a profound change. Government has come to be looked on as a collection of public services. These services are really co-operative activities by which the common interests are furthered. Private business either would not perform these tasks or would perform them only for those able to pay; hence the voters have insisted that the government make them available for all. The natural sphere of government is defined today as the promotion of public welfare. We believe that the government is bound to do good to the full extent of its ability. The modern state is the *service state*.

The Expanding Police Power. It is hard to tell whether the public service function or the regulatory

function of government is expanding faster. Our economy has become so complex and interdependent that government supervision is vital. Only the government is sufficiently powerful to adjust the conflicting interests of various groups and to restrain those who would pursue their own interests regardless of the social welfare.

Americans agree that regulation should interfere as little as possible with individuals. Regulation should have for its purpose *the equalizing of conditions that surround individuals that each may have every opportunity for self-development*. The liberty of those who would exploit others must be restricted. But this is done only that the others may have more liberty.

Regulation as a Means to Equalize Competition. Competition is unequal when some of the competitors are more heartless or unscrupulous than the rest. If some sell inferior merchandise which the consumer accepts as standard quality, then those who sell honest merchandise are at a disadvantage. Similarly, those who work their employees longer hours and under poorer conditions have an advantage over those who are more humane. Before competition can be equalized, all the competitors must abide by the same standards. The necessity for government regulation was clearly stated by Woodrow Wilson:

Those who would act in moderation and good conscience in cases where moderation and good conscience, if indulged, require an increased outlay of money, in better ventilated buildings, in greater care as to the quality of goods, etc., cannot be expected to act upon their principles so long as more grinding conditions for labor or a more unscrupulous use of the opportunities of trade secure to the unconscientious an unquestionable and sometimes even a permanent advantage; they have only the choice of denying their consciences or retiring from business. In scores of such cases government has intervened

and will intervene; but by way, not of interference, by way, rather, of making competition equal between those who would rightfully conduct enterprise and those who basely conduct it. It is in this way that society protects itself against permanent injury and deterioration, and secures healthful equality of opportunity for self-development.¹

The regulation of economic activities has become the chief task of government. *Laissez-faire* has been abandoned in one field after another. Apparently this change is permanent, for once government has assumed a supervisory function, public opinion rarely wishes it to be discontinued. Among the supervisory functions of our national, state, and local governments are the following:

<i>Inspection of:</i>	<i>Regulation of rates:</i>	<i>Supervision of:</i>
Factories	Railroads	Banking
Food manufacture and sale	Telephones	Insurance
Restaurants	Electric power and light	Aviation
Dairies	Gas	Broadcasting
Hotels		Working conditions
Theaters	<i>Licensing of:</i>	Labor relations
Boilers, wiring, and plumbing	Medical practi- tioners	Public carriers
Elevators	Lawyers	Securities
Boats	Stockbrokers	Holding companies
Laundries	Liquor dealers	
Motor vehicles	Chauffeurs	
Apartment houses	Teachers	
	Electricians, plumbers, etc.	

The Struggle to Regulate Monopolies. In equalizing conditions society has no task so important as the regulation of monopolies. Electricity, water, gas, rail-

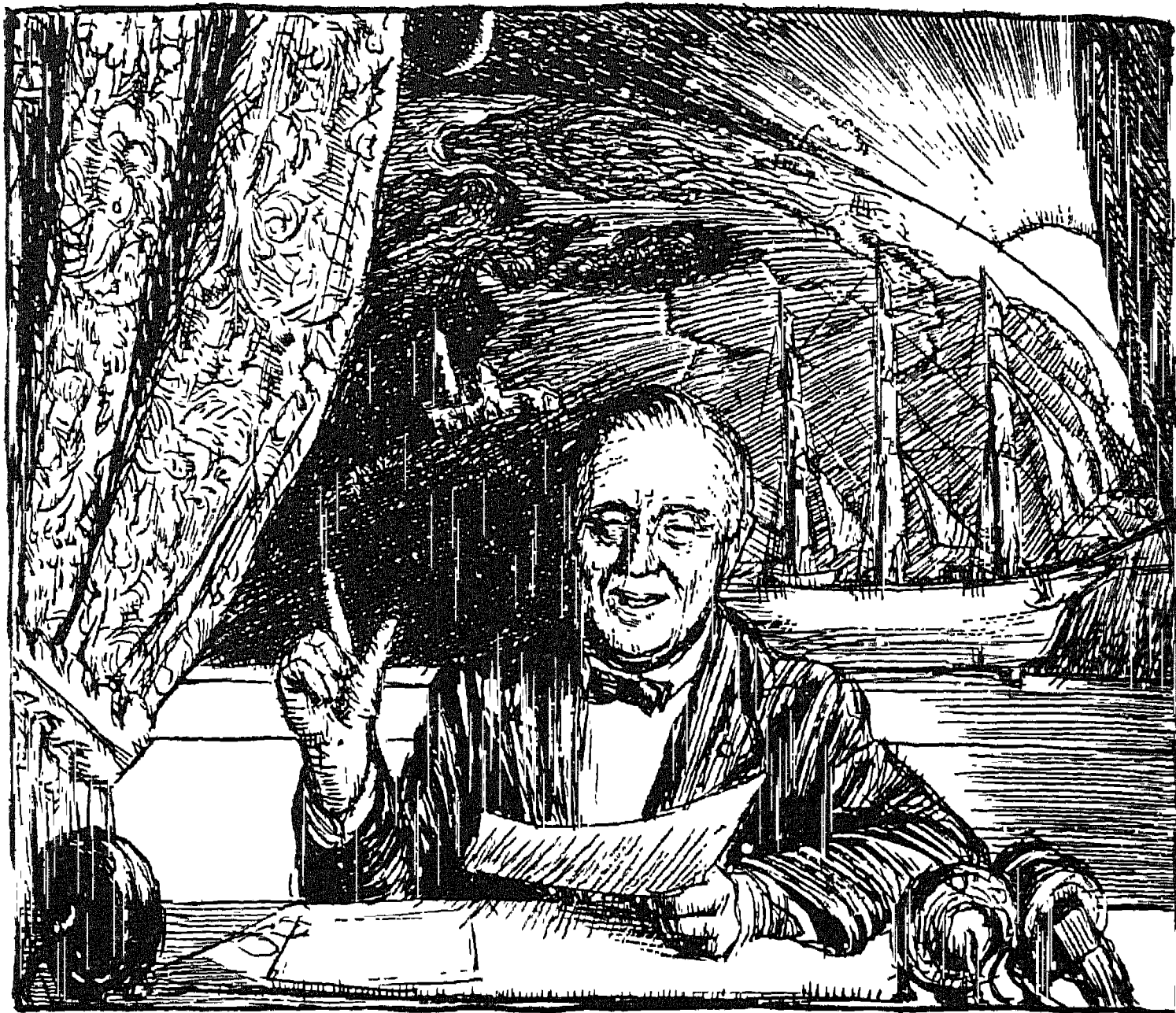
¹ Woodrow Wilson, *The State; Elements of Historical and Practical Politics* (D. C. Heath and Company, 1918), p. 65.

roads, and telephones are examples of *natural* monopolies. There is also another type of monopoly. Great corporations that virtually control the production or distribution of an essential commodity are monopolies of organization. Steel, newsprint, shoe machinery, farm machinery, electric devices, and aluminum are some of the things that are controlled by monopolies. Monopoly means that indispensable means for industrial and social development are in the hands of a few. The struggle of government to regulate monopolies has so far been more dramatic than successful. The empires of finance and industry have eluded effective regulation. No one can say what the outcome will be. In any case no popular government can give up the attempt to curb these industrial giants.

"Central control over social and industrial forces," reported President Hoover's Committee on Recent Social Trends, "is an almost inevitable outcome of the economic development of the time, and especially of the rapid rise of large-scale combinations of industrial power, not readily kept in restraint by the ordinary processes of competition or the older procedures of government, and of new types of commercial fraud and unfair trade practices."

The Centralizing of Political Power. Local self-government has long been a cherished American tradition. Indeed no other type of government was practicable when our Constitution was written. So primitive were the methods of transportation and communication that the national government could exercise very little control over the localities. Only a few tasks, such as issuing currency, making treaties with foreign powers, collecting duties on imports, and waging war, could be successfully performed or directed at the national capital.

All over the world new methods of transportation and communication have strengthened the power of central



BY MEANS OF THE RADIO, A PUBLIC ADDRESS SPONSORED
BY ANY GROUP THAT CAN AFFORD IT MAY BE HEARD
BY OUR ENTIRE COUNTRY AND ROUND THE WORLD

governments at the expense of local units. For one thing, the central authorities can send their agents and instructions to every corner of the land. Again, they can arouse and organize public opinion to support their policies. The radio has tremendously enlarged the influence of national leaders and critics.

Many of the most vital modern functions of government cannot be performed by local units. How can a single city or state insure bank deposits, control a crop surplus, conduct a weather bureau, regulate a railroad, or restrain a nationwide monopoly? In spite of our traditions, and in spite of constitutional obstacles, the trend toward a strong federal government appears to be irresistible. Those who oppose this trend will probably

be swept aside. The cry of states' rights is often led by vested financial interests anxious to avoid all effective regulation of their affairs. Most of the people appear to be indifferent to these protests, for the drift toward centralization continues.

Summary. The state is the most powerful of all institutions. It now regulates a greater variety of affairs than any other institution, and its activities are ever growing more numerous.

Government is the executive agency of the state. It consists of the mechanisms, which have gradually developed, through which the will of the people is expressed and carried out. A government receives its authority from the customs of the people; these customs are the constitution, written or unwritten, upon which it rests. An alien ruler must take care not to disturb many of the customs of his subjects; they will easily be pushed to revolt against the rule of an outsider. Government must express the common will in matters regarding which a settled public opinion exists. When a ruler defies the common will, he is certain to encounter strong opposition; the greater the opposition, the more likely he is to be overthrown.

The phrase "constitutional government" refers to governments with a representative assembly elected by a considerable proportion of the adult citizens. The past century has witnessed in nearly every country a great increase in the proportion of the people who are entitled to vote. To make the officials, after election, responsive to the public will is essential for truly democratic government, but the mechanisms by which this can be achieved are still imperfect.

Since the Industrial Revolution the sphere of government has expanded enormously. The people have demanded that the government perform new functions, including many new types of public service and the

regulation of a great variety of economic activities. Local self-government has proved inadequate to carry out some of these multitudinous tasks; central government is therefore being given more duties and being granted more power. This change is the direct result of pressure from various groups. The future development of any government will be determined by the pressures that play upon it. It is essential, in a democracy, that every section and class of the population should understand the mechanisms by which the government operates and how, through using these, they can get attention for their needs, protests, and desires.

WORD STUDY

constitution	<i>laissez-faire</i>	recall
constitutional government	natural monopoly	referendum
<i>folk moot</i>	politician	state
initiative	politics	

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. An alien ruler is much more likely to encounter opposition from his subjects than one who is native-born. Can you explain why?
2. What limits exist to the power of an alien conqueror? If not by force, how do the conquerors change the habits of their subjects?
3. How do you explain that on some questions the majority of the people do not have the final voice? Who does have the final voice? Can you illustrate?
4. State two advantages of the democratic form of government.
5. Mention some things which government cannot regulate.
6. What is a constitution? How is our Constitution kept from lagging intolerably far behind public opinion?
7. It mattered little who was the leader of a primitive tribe. Explain.

8. Describe one way in which the feudal state arose. Who were the serfs?
9. In what respects was the absolute monarchy an improvement over the feudal state?
10. What two important political ideas developed in the feudal period?
11. Describe the parliamentary state that existed in England between 1689 and 1832. In what respects was it undemocratic?
12. State the doctrine of individualism. How did it affect our Constitution?
13. Mention several devices for making government more responsive to the popular will. Are they used in your state?
14. Show how the concept of the natural sphere of government has grown.
15. What should be the aim of any governmental regulation of business?
16. Why does the power of a central government tend to grow at the expense of other units of government?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Why cannot you tell much about the government of a country merely by studying its constitution?
2. Name some of the customs that can properly be referred to as America's unwritten constitution.
3. Why are federal troops sometimes called in by the governor of a state? Can the President send troops into a state without first receiving a request for troops from the governor?
4. From what section of the country were the federal troops who, after the Civil War, temporarily kept the polls open in the South to Negroes? Why could not southern soldiers have been used for this purpose?
5. "Government rests either on tradition or the sword." Explain.
6. Why is the name "politician" sometimes a term of contempt? Can you mention any Presidents who are described

- as good politicians? As poor politicians? Should a President be a good politician?
7. How does the British cabinet system work? What are the advantages and the disadvantages of this system compared with our own?
 8. What were the principles set forth in Magna Carta? Although this document limited the power of the king, did it give more power to the people or only to the barons?
 9. What is the distinction between a serf and a slave?
 10. Read the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* made by the French revolutionists. Compare it with the first ten amendments to the Constitution. Have these high principles ever been completely realized in practice?
 11. Some of the Latin-American republics have very democratic constitutions, yet their people have little voice in the central government. Can you suggest any explanation for this state of affairs?
 12. Can you mention countries which once had a constitutional government which are now ruled by a dictator? Did any of these have a genuinely popular government before the dictator rose to power? Would they have been likely to achieve popular government sooner under a democratic or an autocratic system? Explain.
 13. Show how governmental regulation seeks to make competition between business groups, such as the various railroad companies, more nearly equal.
 14. Put into simple language the paragraph quoted on p. 505 from *Recent Social Trends*. Can you explain and illustrate this statement?

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CHAPTER XXIII

GOVERNMENT BY PUBLIC OPINION

Do all groups in the population have an equal share in forming public opinion?

Is public opinion irrational?

In view of the defects of public opinion, is democratic government bound to fail?

How serious is the propaganda menace? What can be done about it?

LIBERTY to know, to utter and to argue freely according to our own conscience, is the highest form of liberty.

JOHN MILTON

Who Takes Part in Making Public Opinion?

EVERY government rests upon public opinion. It is therefore more important to understand how public opinion is created than to understand the structure of the government.

The Culprit — Public Opinion. Human beings like to throw the blame for every difficulty upon a scapegoat. An unpopular ruler is usually blamed for everything that goes wrong among his subjects. Thus George III was regarded by the American colonists as personally responsible for the restrictions which Parliament imposed on their commerce. Today we blame the President for any measure that does not work well.

Widespread evils are, however, never due to a single individual or to a small class; they are the result of faulty institutions. An institution, in the last analysis, exists only in the minds of the people who use it (see pp. 25-26); their ignorance or indifference is respon-

sible for its defects. When the people decide that an institution is wrong they abolish or modify it. The torture of witnesses, the burning of heretics, the persecution of witches, the oppression of religious minorities, slavery, and the brutal treatment of the insane lasted only as long as public opinion endorsed them. No ruler or ruling class could have perpetuated these institutions in the face of popular disapproval.

Thoughtful persons are aware of many weaknesses in our institutions. Let us be careful not to blame these defects on the capitalists, the international bankers, the Reds, or any other minority. Is there graft among officeholders? Yes, but does not the average citizen condone it? Until the majority agrees that graft is intolerable, it will continue. Is the use of the "third degree" a blot upon our criminal procedure? Not many think it is; therefore it goes on without any popular outcry. The responsibility for any common practice rests on public opinion.

What Is Public Opinion? The average of what the members of a community believe upon a given subject may be termed public opinion. It is a force so powerful that only an exceptionally intelligent and independent person can resist it. It is the invisible power that supports customs, morals, and laws. No statute can be enforced unless it has the backing of public opinion. There are two types of public opinion.

Static public opinion is most conspicuous in societies not undergoing rapid change. It is expressed in the folkways and traditions. It binds both ruler and subject. The absolutist state rests upon it. Should the ruler attempt to act in an unc customary way he will be promptly stopped. Static public opinion is negative rather than constructive; it is opposed to change.

When new conditions confront a people they have to make a conscious readjustment. A constructive or

dynamic public opinion must first emerge. This arises only when there is a general discontent, which leads people to discuss events and express judgment upon them. Gradually they make up their minds how to handle the situation. The opinion that they reach is born out of and contains the customs of the group, yet is concerned with adapting them to new conditions. This process is very prominent in the United States today, especially in reference to economic policies.

Do All Groups Take Part in Making Public Opinion? In a society made up of fairly distinct classes, races, and nationalities, some groups will inevitably have a larger share in creating dynamic public opinion than others. If there are any persons who are unaware of a given problem, or who have no opinion as to how it should be met, they will have no influence in determining what is to be done. They may, of course, refuse to co-operate in carrying out what the rest of the people decide. It is desirable, therefore, that they should assent.

No section of the population is wholly without influence on public opinion. Children and youth do not ordinarily exert political influence. Yet on some matter which closely concerns them, and on which they have a definite opinion, their wishes cannot be disregarded. By an organized appeal to the school committee they might, for instance, obtain a change in a regulation. Should they unitedly refuse to obey a certain school regulation, it could hardly be enforced.

Arriving at a Consensus of Opinion. Any section of the population which does not freely associate with the majority has little share in the opinion-making process. The inmates of a monastery, for instance, because of their secluded life do not make their ideas known to the public. A racial minority which is not permitted full social contact with the rest of the population cannot obtain consideration of its problems and opinions.

There is no way by which it can talk over its ideas with the majority. Therefore no accommodation between the ideas of the two groups can take place.

If the formulation of public opinion is to be completely democratic — that is, if every adult citizen is to have an equal chance to make his ideas heard — there must be free discussion between all groups, urban and rural, native and alien, rich and poor, white and black. Then the opinion which finally emerges is an accommodation of the opinions of all. It is truly a consensus. In this case every group will assent to the decision of the majority and a uniform opinion will presently prevail. Free discussion between all groups is an ideal which is seldom realized in practice.

The Limitations of Public Opinion

The Kind of Questions Settled by Public Opinion. Public opinion can exist on simple and nontechnical questions, and on broad policies to be pursued, but not upon the details of how they shall be carried out. It can favor a protective tariff but cannot say what the duties shall be or how they shall be collected. It supports the principle of the income tax but is silent on its detailed application. It may decide that old-age pensions are necessary, but it is obliged to leave to experts the task of working out the procedure.

Public Opinion Is Expressed Only through a Leader. The public cannot propose a measure. It merely follows a leader who has a concrete proposal. However, a leader cannot get a following except by showing how to carry out some popular desire. He is the channel through which the public will find practical expression.

When conflicting policies have been proposed, the public indicates its decision by supporting the advocate of one of them. Naturally, the personality of the



TO WIN A FOLLOWING THE WOULD-BE LEADER MUST SHOW THE PEOPLE HOW TO ACCOMPLISH SOME POPULAR DESIRE

leader enters into the choice, and sometimes it is not clear whether people are voting on an issue or a man. Those who have little interest in the issue will be governed by their like or dislike of the leaders.

Public opinion can only be expressed on one issue at a time. Party platforms with a dozen different planks only befog the voters. When the election is over, nobody knows what has been decided. Perhaps the popularity of the respective leaders is all that has been expressed.

Public Opinion Is Dominated by Inconsequential. A great many voters apparently have no idea of the qualifications demanded by a given office. Therefore they are swayed by all sorts of things — the candidate's stature, appearance, dress, voice, accent, religion, domestic relationships, recreational habits, lodge memberships, etc. — which have nothing to do with his capacity to perform the duties of the office.

A candidate, politicians say, should be of large stature and commanding appearance. An athlete is certain to be popular. While blindness may be tolerated, a hooked nose will cost many votes. A candidate who was born poor will take votes from one whose parents were well-to-do. A hyphenated name, as Smith-Jones, will be regarded as the mark of a sissy or a highbrow. Membership in as many lodges as possible is important. The candidate must be conventional in religion. Although men convicted of fraud have occasionally been elected to office, a candidate who has been divorced or whose domestic affairs have been the subject of gossip is at a serious disadvantage.

Many candidates for President have been comparatively unknown until nominated at their party convention. It is agreed by politicians that an unknown candidate frequently has a better chance to be elected than one who has been much in the public eye and has thus made enemies. For this reason the highest office in the land is sometimes filled by a man who lacks the qualities of a great leader.

Public Opinion Is Changeable and of Short Memory. Party platforms are rarely carried out in full, or even in substantial part. The voters seem to forget the promises made during the campaign; at least they seldom refuse to re-elect a man because he did not carry out his platform. In running for re-election the more recent part of the officeholder's record counts heaviest. The same forgetfulness and changeableness that characterize our thinking about our individual affairs are present in our thinking about political matters.

Public Opinion Is Impatient. Once public feeling has been strongly aroused, it demands immediate action. If its officials do not act, one of two things may happen. The people may become interested in something else. In this case the opportunity to bring about a needed

change has been lost. "Strike while the iron is hot" is a warning to leaders to act quickly lest their followers lose their ardor. On the other hand, if their leaders procrastinate, the people may become the more determined upon action. New leaders will then spring up ready to carry out the changes desired. In some countries a change of leadership can only be accomplished by violence. The democratic system provides an easier way of turning out the leaders who have lost the support of the populace.

The great majority of people have no patience with political experiments. If a new policy does not bring immediate results, they are apt to consider it a failure. Vested interests frequently make use of this impatience to get rid of legislation to which they are opposed.

Public Opinion Is Based on Stereotypes. Nearly all our thinking is accompanied by pictures in our minds. These images are often highly charged with emotion. When the image flashes into the consciousness it carries with it a sentiment — affection, gratitude, yearning, suspicion, hatred, or the like. The word "mother," for example, produces a definite picture in the individual's mind. In his childhood this is the image of his own mother. As he grows older the image tends to lose some of its individuality and to become a generalized image of motherhood. All of the members of a culture-group have about the same motherhood image in their heads. The familiar Red Cross slogan "The Greatest Mother of Them All" appeals to a practically universal sentiment. Even those who have never had the care of a tender mother acquire the same image of motherhood as do the rest of us, for popular songs, stories, pictures, and cinemas cultivate uniform imagery throughout society. (See pp. 102-104.)

When we think of familiar institutions — the school, church, corner store, country post office, or summer

hotel — we often have no particular example in mind but rather a generalized picture, a sort of composite or average. This image has been built up in our minds partly from our direct experiences but chiefly from photographs, cartoons, songs, plays, and similar sources. Such generalized pictures that are common to the members of a given culture-group are known as *stereotypes*. It is important to remember that stereotypes are charged with emotion. We have been conditioned to feel and act toward them in a given way. Virtually all thinking on public questions is in terms of stereotypes. It is emotional and not discriminating. We look at the label and ignore the contents.

How Politicians Use Stereotypes. Successful speakers constantly use stereotypes. They invent brief memorable phrases that convey a picture. Theodore Roosevelt was a master of this art. His picturesque phrases, "the square deal," "mollycoddle," "roughrider," "big stick," were on everybody's lips.

Leaders are simply those persons who are able to crystallize the vague notions and feelings of the masses into definite attitudes. They accomplish this by creating stereotypes. "Remember the Maine," "Make the world safe for democracy," "Hang the Kaiser," "the wolves of Wall Street," "the forgotten man," are stereotypes that have influenced our history. It should be noticed that these phrases first express a commonly held feeling and then greatly intensify it.

Political campaigns are waged with stereotypes for ammunition. The promises in 1932 of "a new deal" and consideration of "the forgotten man" had greater appeal than the threat that were the Democrats elected, "grass will grow in the city streets." In 1924, when Democratic and Progressive leaders were vigorously attacking the oil scandals of the Harding administration, the Coolidge managers talked of the danger of "empty

dinner pails" and "closed factories" should the Republicans be defeated. These stereotypes provoked a fear for individual well-being that proved stronger than indignation at the robbing of the government of some far-distant oil fields. However important the issue, unless it can be expressed in emotionally charged images it will leave the average voter indifferent.

The Power of the Cartoon. A great many of our stereotypes are invented by cartoonists. By constant repetition these become indelibly impressed on our thinking. We should remember that a stereotype carries with it an attitude, that is, a tendency to respond in a particular way. Lately we have been led to think of Italy as a caricature of Mussolini, with a bristly face, an outthrust jaw, and a defiant pose. This picture appeals to primitive and warlike impulses, for we naturally want to strike a person who defies us. Were there a likelihood that the United States would go to war against Italy, this ugly stereotype could be effectively used to inflame our feelings. On the other hand, should we be drifting toward war on the side of Italy, this stereotype would have to be combated. Other stereotypes would be evoked, such as the boatman singing *Santa Lucia*, and laughing girls picking grapes in the sunny vineyards on the slopes of the Apennines. The cartoonists would certainly play a decisive part in shaping our attitudes.

People will reject a stereotype that sharply contradicts their own experience. Americans who had studied in Germany before the World War knew that German soldiers were not savage Huns. But other Americans readily accepted this stereotype and were governed by it. A few years before the Civil War, Northerners were easily persuaded that Simon Legree was a typical slave-overseer, although Southerners did not recognize him. So powerfully did the portrayal of Simon Legree affect

Northern public opinion that Lincoln spoke of his creator, Harriet Beecher Stowe, as the woman who caused the Civil War. This illustrates the tremendous potency of a stereotype, however inaccurate or unjust, that happens to capture the imagination of the masses.

Public Opinion Expresses Prejudices. Each of us has prejudices. These unreasonable dislikes may be the result of a single disagreeable experience. (See pp. 101–102.) Experiences of fear, anger, and disgust seem to make a more lasting impression than do experiences of joy and friendliness. Therefore demagogues harp upon our prejudices. The political candidate devotes little time to argument, and little to what he himself intends to do. He finds it more effective to attack or to ridicule his opponent. The “whispering campaign,” conducted by repeating malicious gossip against a candidate, is often surprisingly successful. Cartoonists utilize common prejudices. The labor organizer is pictured as a wild-eyed, long-haired foreigner, the radical as a menacing tramp, the factory owner (in a labor paper) as a paunchy man with a diamond stickpin, the minister as limp and sentimental, the schoolma’am as a shrew. It is unjust and stupid to characterize all schoolteachers or ministers or capitalists or labor organizers by the traits of some of their class. Yet the ordinary person does exactly this. Therefore public opinion is not discriminating. It readily condemns all Germans or Jews or Japanese or Bolsheviks without regard to their individual differences.

Public Opinion Expresses Wishful Thinking. Our wishes color our thoughts. The desire for “a chicken in every pot” and “a full dinner pail” helped elect President Hoover. The longing for “a new deal” after the sorry years from 1929 to 1932 piled up a majority for Franklin Roosevelt. The Townsend movement was motivated by the yearning of millions of the aged to be

independent. Party platforms always hold out the promise that popular hopes will be fulfilled.

Political thinking is often more sentimental than practical. People do not always stop to think whether what they want is possible, and whether they are willing to pay what it will cost. Immediately after the World War millions of Americans wanted to help establish a League of Nations that would insure world peace. At the same time most of them were unwilling that the United States should be called upon to apply military or economic sanctions against any nation judged to be an aggressor. They were not ready to pay the price of an effective League of Nations. The people of nations which joined the League have displayed much the same inconsistency; they wish world peace, yet will not have their governments surrender any of their independence in dealing with other nations. This is typical of a vast deal of political thinking. It is not realistic.

Are the People Fit to Rule? Because of the weaknesses and follies of public opinion some think that democratic government is bound to fail. "How," they ask, "can we have wise, efficient government when the voters are so confused and so irrational?"

The answer is that every government rests on the popular judgment. Whether the leader is an absolute monarch, a foreign despot, a president, or a dictator, he cannot go farther or faster than his people will follow. Whatever the defects of their thinking, he is bound to listen to them on all matters on which they have made up their minds. There is no escape from the power of public opinion. Even if there were such an escape, dictators, aristocracies, and ruling classes are themselves subject to the characteristic errors of social thinking. They, too, think in stereotypes; they, too, are influenced by prejudices and wishes and inconsequentialities.

Essentials for Sound Public Opinion

Adequate Diffusion of Information. When all the facts are available to everybody, lies and half-truths cannot long survive. If, however, some of the facts are withheld, the public can easily be misled. "True opinions," says Walter Lippmann, "can prevail only if the facts to which they refer are known; if they are not known, false ideas are just as effective as true ones, if not a little more effective."¹ The following illustrations speak for themselves:

In 1915 the Germans executed an English nurse, Edith Cavell, who had been duly convicted as a spy. This incident was cleverly used by the British to stir up the passions of the entire English-speaking world. Edith Cavell was portrayed as a saint who had been brutally slain by the barbarian Boches. Unquestionably her tragic fate made a deep impression on Americans, and helped to bring them into the war. The fact that the French had executed two German nurses under almost identical circumstances was suppressed. Had it been published, it would, of course, have given Americans a picture nearer the truth.

Professor Ross tells us that in a certain American city "during a strike of the elevator men in the large stores, the business agent of the elevator starters' union was beaten to death in an alley behind a certain emporium, by a 'strong-arm' man hired by that firm. The story, supported by affidavits, was given by a responsible lawyer to three newspaper men, each of whom accepted it as true and promised to print it. The account never appeared."² In this case an obvious motive for suppressing the facts was the fear of the three

¹ Walter Lippmann, *Liberty and the News* (The Macmillan Company, 1927).

² E. A. Ross, *Changing America; Studies in Contemporary Society* (Century Company, 1912), Chapter VII.



THE CAMERA MAY RECORD THE FACTS OF A STRIKE ONE WAY,
WHILE THE NEWSPAPERS REPORT IT IN ANOTHER

newspapers that they might lose the advertising of the firm whose hireling had committed the murder. Had the facts been published, public opinion would doubtless have rallied behind the strikers and forced the stores to grant their demands.

Free Speech and a Free Press. If one group tries to suppress or distort certain facts, another group may ferret out and publish the truth, provided there is no penalty for so doing. Herein lies one of the chief advantages of two-party government. The "outs" will watch the "ins" and expose their mistakes. A minor party, believing that both of the great parties are pursuing an injurious policy, sometimes publishes facts which neither the "ins" nor the "outs" care to have known. A nonpartisan citizens' association often discloses corrupt practices in the government of their city

which bosses in both parties are equally desirous to conceal. A labor newspaper regularly publishes information that other newspapers either omit or slight. Scientific reports printed in the interests of consumers give facts about the merits of goods offered by advertisers which could be obtained nowhere else. We are fortunate in the United States that these various channels of information are kept open.

Free Expression for Unpopular Facts and Ideas. Free speech means that unpopular facts and ideas shall have full opportunity to be heard. Unpopular facts, if freely circulated, help to overcome wishful thinking and prejudice. Such a delusion as that the national income would suffice to pay everyone over sixty a pension of two hundred dollars a month can be combated only with facts. The notion that colored people are lacking in native intelligence and unable to benefit from good schools cannot survive when the findings of psychologists are widely known. Suppose, however, that this information never gets out of technical volumes and the meetings of learned societies. In this case it can have no effect on social thinking.

Unpopular ideas are continually being hushed, today as in the past. In some states it is illegal to teach certain biological theories. Medieval scientists were savagely punished for saying that the earth moves around the sun. It is futile to forbid the discussion of ideas. If they are unsound, the more openly they are discussed the sooner they will be discarded. If they are correct, they cannot be permanently concealed.

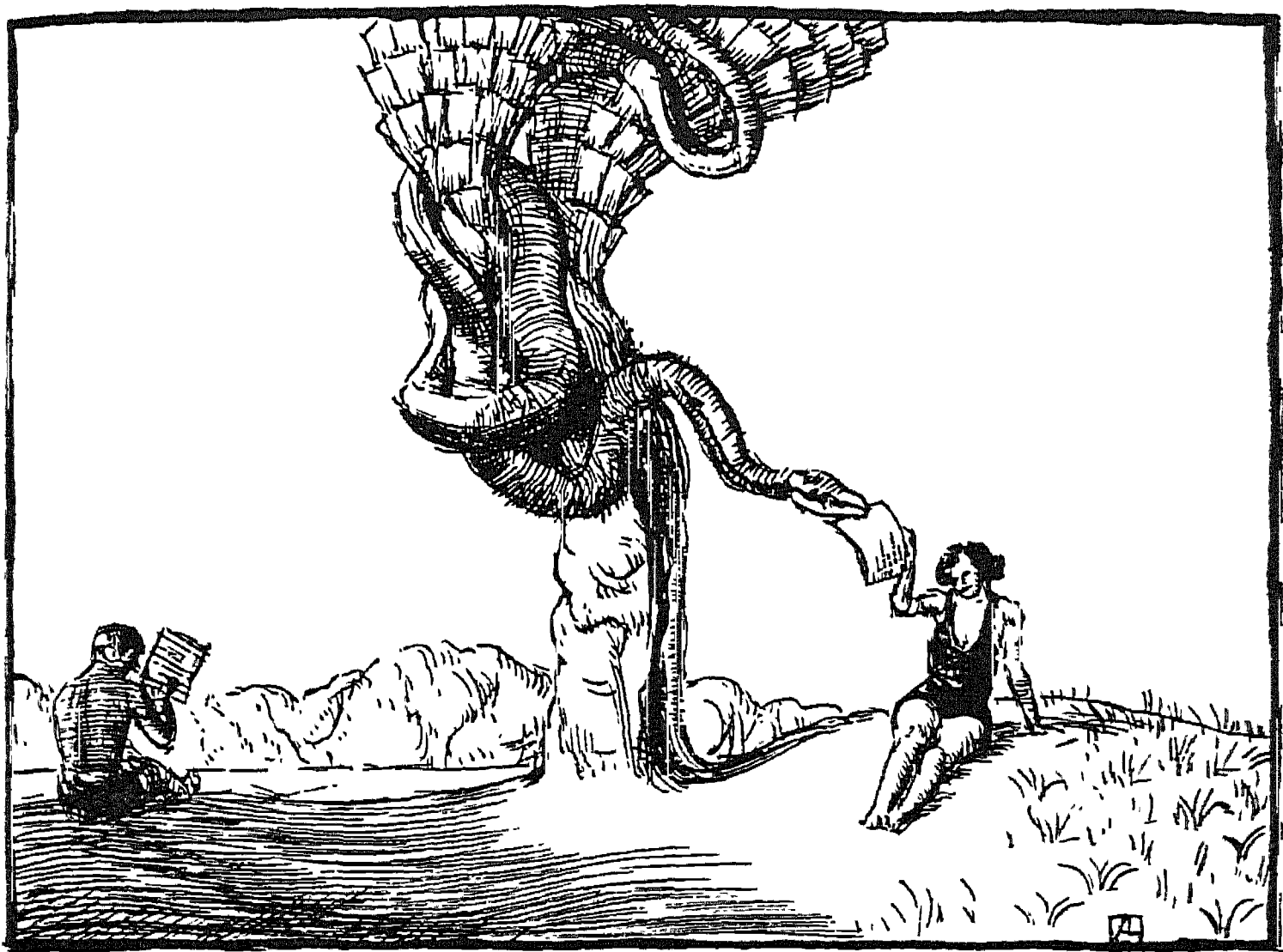
In the past, unorthodox religious ideas were ruthlessly persecuted. Persecution only advertised these heresies until they were widely adopted. Today we marvel that these ideas ever seemed dangerous. Instead of fighting religious heresies we now direct our intolerance toward political heresies — the various

“isms,” and even against such mild departures as the advocacy of industrial democracy and government ownership of public utilities.

Should Radical Ideas Be Allowed Expression? The facts of history suggest that radical doctrines are never dangerous so long as they may be freely discussed. Extreme and foolish proposals do not long survive in open competition with sounder ideas. Persecution, however, surrounds them with glamour, making heroes out of those who dare espouse them.

No thinking person wants revolution. It is far too costly and destructive. So long as people believe that they can obtain reforms without it they cannot be induced to revolt. Revolution is possible only when despair has spread over the populace. This state of mind cannot exist in a country with a responsive government, where everyone can freely express his opinion. When all groups share in the making of public opinion, the minorities acquiesce in the decision. It is only when a group believes that it is excluded from the opinion-making process, that is, has no voice in the government, that it may resort to force. Therefore the denial of free speech is the very worst way to fight radical ideas. To allow them free expression insures that they will stand or fall on their own merits. Said Thomas Jefferson, “If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed, as a monument of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.”

Equal Access to the Agencies of Communication. There are four leading communication agencies in the modern world: the radio, newspaper, magazine, and cinema. From these we receive nearly all of our information. Any group which cannot express its views through these agencies will have little influence on public opinion.



PROPAGANDA GROWS MORE SEDUCTIVE AND DANGEROUS AS THE AGENCIES OF COMMUNICATION BECOME CONCENTRATED IN FEWER HANDS

Suppose that one political party had control over every newspaper, periodical, radio station, and cinema theater in the country. Obviously the public would receive a one-sided version of the news. Hearing only those facts that were favorable to the party in power, the public would be inclined to accept its policies. Opposition parties would have difficulty in holding their membership. After a time they might be so weakened that the government could drive them underground. This situation actually exists in several European nations ruled by dictators.

The Danger of Concentrated Control over Communication Agencies. In the United States no party or class controls all of the important agencies of communication. Yet in recent years these have tended to be concentrated in a few hands. About 98 per cent of American moving

pictures are produced in Hollywood. Two companies dominate radio broadcasting. Three or four popular news commentators probably have more listeners than all other news broadcasters put together. Newspapers are still our principal source of information. In 1938 there were 493 daily morning papers and 1,716 daily evening papers, but the number is gradually declining.

The high cost of equipping and operating a modern newspaper plant has brought about numerous mergers of competing papers. While in 1900 there were but 353 cities having only one local paper, by 1935 over 1,200 cities depended on a single paper. Furthermore, many of these papers are owned by chains. Chain newspapers have about 40 per cent of the total circulation. Local newspapers representing local points of view are gradually disappearing. Those that survive take more and more of their news and features from national syndicates. Metropolitan newspapers are continually extending their spheres of influence. There is very grave danger that the press will cease to be a forum for the expression of divergent points of view.

The little newspapers and magazines and radio stations publish some of the news which is ignored by their larger rivals. They manage to keep alive local opinion and the opinion of minorities. But their voices are almost overwhelmed by the mighty voices of their great competitors. Every year they encounter harder financial sledding, and many are forced to the wall.

Public opinion should emerge after prolonged discussion of competing policies. The ideas of no section of the population should be ignored. If the policies advocated by a few groups are constantly kept before the people, while those of other groups are expressed feebly and infrequently, the competition between them is very unequal.

The Need of Education. Human thinking, even at its

best, is only partly rational. The scientist, after years of training in impartial, objective methods of research, is still likely, outside his own special field, to engage in wishful thinking. Yet the hope of progress is the hope that men can be taught to think less emotionally and more rationally. The conscious reshaping of institutions requires intelligence. Blind clinging to traditional ways or violent, revolutionary changes are both destructive of progress.

The oncoming generation will be taught more about the social sciences than were their parents. They will be given deeper insight into their own mental processes. Perhaps they will become more conscious of the need for calm, objective thinking on social questions.

The true aim of education is to develop the judgment of each individual, to free him from prejudice and superstition, to train him in critical thinking, to awaken all his potentialities, to give him numerous choices and encourage him to make his own decisions. Only a little of our educational effort is yet directed toward this goal. Much that goes on in the name of education is concerned not with freeing the mind but in binding it to tradition. Yet we are far less traditional and far more open-minded than any previous generation. Will this not show in sounder social thinking?

The Menace of Propaganda

What Is Propaganda? Propaganda is the deliberate (and usually veiled) manipulation of public opinion to secure a response desired by the manipulator. It is opposed to critical thinking. It seeks to destroy the open-minded attitude toward the facts, and to lead the individual to accept unthinkingly the conclusion desired by the propagandist.

People often speak of "good" propaganda and "bad" propaganda. By this they are trying to make a dis-

inction between propaganda for a good cause and propaganda for a bad cause. It is all right, many argue, to excite people's emotions (and thus shut off their thinking) in favor of some desirable course of action, be this the support of a charity, the practice of a health rule, the acceptance of an orthodox religious doctrine, or the election of a worthy candidate for office. Most of those who accept this view would label as bad propaganda that designed to lessen support of the charity, to cause the health rule to be disregarded, to weaken faith in the religious doctrine, or to elect the candidate of a left-wing minority. In practice the distinction between good and bad propaganda comes to mean "Does it uphold or attack my own cherished ideas?"

One of the highest human values, most thoughtful men would agree, is the exercise of intelligent choice. Intelligent choice is possible only when the individual is thinking with a minimum of emotion and possesses all the pertinent facts. To prevent intelligent choice by arousing the emotions or by withholding some of the facts is the intention of the propagandist. He wishes to determine the choice that others are to make — to induce them to respond in the way that suits his purpose. Therefore propaganda, even in a worthy cause, is opposed to education.

Propaganda in Advertising. Advertising and salesmanship exemplify the characteristic features of propaganda. They appeal to the emotions rather than to the reason, skillfully implanting suggestions which are difficult to resist. They often undo the work of the school. "Smoking is harmful, especially for athletes," says the school. But the tobacco advertisements carrying the pictures and testimonials of popular athletes are more compelling. The harmful physiological effects of alcohol have long been explained at school. But the advertisements showing rich and attractive

young people drinking cocktails together appeal to the universal tendency to imitate those whom we admire and envy. When this motive has been powerfully stimulated the individual is no longer free to weigh all the factors and decide for himself. His mind has been made up for him by an advertising expert. Not all advertising is propaganda, but much of it is. The test is whether the advertisement gives all the facts that the prospective purchaser needs to know in making a rational decision.

Propaganda to Shape Public Policy. Propaganda that seeks to determine public policy is more dangerous than that which determines how we shall spend our money. Generally its source and the interests which it serves are concealed, and thus the recipient is not on his guard against it. A typical example of propaganda has been exposed by the Federal Trade Commission. The Commission found that during the 1920's the power industry deluged the country with propaganda designed to show that power companies are benevolent and efficient, and, because of state regulation, not operated for profit as are other businesses.

Newspapers received a steady stream of cartoons, editorials, and news bulletins favorable to the power companies and unfavorable both to their further regulation and to government ownership. Some editors were glad to use this ready-made material; others used it in order to receive utility advertising. Popular clubwomen were induced to sign prepared articles and letters for publication in local newspapers. Speakers were furnished without cost to schools, churches, clubs, and other gatherings. The fact that they were in the employ of the power companies was not, as a rule, disclosed to the audience. Pamphlets whose authorship and purpose were more or less disguised were sent by millions to public libraries, public officials, and influ-

ential persons. Schoolbooks were carefully examined, and those making adverse criticisms or approving public control and ownership were blacklisted. Prominent citizens were persuaded to denounce the use of these books in their communities and to urge the substitution of those favored by the power companies.

It should not be thought that the power companies alone have been guilty of propaganda. Practically every great industry, and especially the various public utilities, regularly engage in propaganda. It has been shown that the propaganda of armament makers and shipbuilders helped to wreck the 1932 Disarmament Conference, and that these same interests have fought every proposal for the reduction of our military and naval establishment. Political parties, labor unions, radical organizations, patriotic societies, and even religious groups also at times employ propaganda.

How Propagandists Manipulate the Facts. When the source of a given piece of promotion is not concealed, and when the interests which it serves are openly stated, may it still be propaganda? Yes, promotion is propaganda when it suppresses or distorts the facts, diverts attention from the facts, or fabricates a story that never happened.

Suppression. The propagandist wishes to let into the channels of communication only that which he thinks will lead to the desired responses; so far as he is able, he keeps back or extinguishes all the rest. Typical instances of suppression were given on page 523. Many governments censor both outgoing and incoming news. Most large business concerns employ a public relations counsel whose task is to prevent the leaking out of facts that might create an unfavorable impression, and to see that news likely to benefit the concern receives as much publicity as possible. Even ministers and teachers may suppress some of the pertinent facts

in their anxiety to drive home a lesson. Unless a person is more interested in telling the facts than in winning support for a particular doctrine he is apt to give only one side of the story, and thus to be guilty of propaganda.

Distortion. Exaggeration is a common way of distorting the truth. Distorted arguments against the child labor amendment led the Georgia legislature to pass a resolution stating that the amendment "would give irrevocable support to a rebellion of childhood which menaces our civilization." This was widely quoted by opponents of the amendment who probably did not in the least fear a rebellion of childhood. Opponents of the amendment often distort the facts by saying that it would prohibit the employment of children under eighteen. Actually, it would give Congress the power to regulate or to prohibit; it is extremely unlikely that Congress would defy public opinion by prohibiting the labor of children over fifteen or sixteen.

Minimization of the facts is another kind of distortion. Many attempts have been made since 1929 to minimize the amount of unemployment. For a long time government officials who knew the facts did not reveal them to the public. The motive, of course, was to maintain confidence. But intelligent adjustment to a situation is possible only when the facts are known. The deceiving of people even in a worthy cause renders them helpless.

Diversion. Propagandists sometimes attempt to divert public attention from the real issues by the use of entertainment and humor. A political speech that is well sprinkled with jokes may win more votes than one that is serious. Sometimes a candidate for office ignores all the issues and entertains the voters with parades, fireworks, and band concerts. This may succeed where argument would fail. "Big Bill" Thomp-

son became mayor of Chicago and was twice re-elected by clever use of circus parades and horseplay such as the threat that he would punch King George V on the nose.

Dictators must be skillful in keeping their subjects from thinking too much about the shortcomings of the government. Some observers believe that Hitler's campaign against the Jews was intended to divert attention from the serious economic situation in Germany. The Italian attack on Abyssinia has been explained as a desperate attempt by Mussolini to prevent the overthrow of his government. A foreign war always distracts attention from domestic troubles and rulers have again and again gone to war for this very reason. The much-publicized trial of the Soviet engineers in 1930 looked like a scheme for keeping people's thoughts from the hardships of the Five-Year Plan, or at least for shifting the blame for industrial failures from the government to the engineers.

Fabrication. During the World War both the Allied and Central powers circulated stories of atrocities committed by the enemy. On each side the people heard only of the brutality of enemy soldiers and the heroism of their own defenders. Most of the atrocity stories were grossly exaggerated and many were pure fiction. Because of the hysterical state of mind that prevails in war, people are ready and eager to believe the wildest tales. An incident which occurred in one American city could have been duplicated almost anywhere.

A speaker at a public meeting described the horrors which the German invaders had brought upon Belgium. He described German troops riding into a town, seizing children right and left and cutting off their hands. He said that he had himself actually seen these children running about the streets the next day with the stubs of their arms exposed. The audience was shocked but fascinated by these gory details. A surgeon among

the listeners, who retained some semblance of sanity, could not swallow this particular statement. He asked the speaker if he did not know that as evidently there had been no medical care provided for the children they would bleed to death in a few hours. His simple question would have made it impossible for any "sane" person to affirm or believe the story. But the lecturer lost his temper and tacitly accused the doctor of unpatriotic sympathies by saying: "The gentleman evidently does not want to believe my story." The hearty applause of the audience made it only too evident to the doctor that it was futile to attempt the slightest argument with a crowd and a speaker emotionally attuned to believe anything vicious about an enemy.¹

Fabrication is not limited to wartime. It may be used in any sort of conflict. It is most effective when feelings are running high. When a labor struggle is in progress both sides may start rumors which have little or no foundation. In a political campaign the opponents frequently make charges which are false. Sound thinking about public affairs is difficult even when the facts are known; when lies are offered instead of the facts, sound thinking is impossible.

In his book, *The Real Japanese Question*, Kawakami gives an instance of fabrication calculated to do lasting harm to American-Japanese relations on the Pacific Coast. He writes that on July 28, 1920, certain San Francisco papers published what purported to be an interview with the captain of an American schooner. The captain was represented as saying that the Japanese authorities at the island of Ponape had been rude and inhumane toward his crew, had refused to permit sick American sailors to be taken ashore for treatment, and had declined to supply the ship with necessary provisions and medicine. Upon seeing these accounts

¹ Kimball Young, *Social Psychology* (F. S. Crofts and Company, 1930), p. 440.

in the papers the owner of the ship, himself a San Franciscan, wrote to the editors as follows:

The Japanese extended to our vessel every courtesy and assistance at Ponape. A doctor from a Japanese warship, together with the government health officer, extended to the sick members of the crew every attention, and medical supplies were generously given to the ship free of cost. . . . The statement has been published that the Japanese refused to permit burial of the deceased mate, but we would like to point out that the mate died thirteen days before the arrival of the schooner at Ponape and was buried at sea.¹

Unfortunately, this correction was never printed.

Can Propaganda Be Restrained? The centralized control of communication agencies means that propaganda is more dangerous than ever before. Public opinion can be more readily manipulated when practically all the news comes from a small number of news agencies and broadcasters. Unless ways of restraining propaganda are discovered, it is a question whether government *for* the people can endure.

The problem is how to restrict propaganda without restricting freedom of speech. People often think that facts and opinions they don't like are propaganda, and should not be allowed expression. *In reality the curbing of propaganda would give more opportunity for minorities to make themselves heard.* And minorities may wish to discuss unpopular facts and ideas.

Every state has laws against slander, libel, and defamation. These help protect individuals from those who would publicly and untruthfully attack their reputations. There is a federal statute that requires newspapers and periodicals to publish the names of their owners. It has been suggested that the source of every news item and every article should be stated, in order

¹ K. K. Kawakami, *The Real Japanese Question* (The Macmillan Company, 1921), p. 138.

to protect the reader against masked promotion. A well-known student of the propaganda question has proposed that every newspaper be required to give a certain proportion of its space on request to a public advocate, who would publish there any important information which had been omitted or garbled in its columns. Persons knowing the facts in a case that had not been fairly handled by the press would search him out. Doubtless he would sometimes be in danger for having printed facts distasteful to the crowd. Those admirable papers which endeavor to print nothing that is not strictly accurate and impartial would seldom be asked for space by the public advocate. Those papers which are now unreliable would doubtless exercise greater care, since their errors and omissions in reporting an event would be brought to the attention of their readers.

Is the Public to Blame for Propaganda? It is popular today to blame the propagandists for our difficulties, but we should remember that the propagandist tells people what they want to hear. He seizes upon a popular superstition or prejudice and intensifies it for his own purposes. The more suggestible and credulous an individual is, the more easily does he become the tool of the propagandist. One way of reducing the power of propaganda is to train the oncoming generation in critical thinking and skeptical reading, and to give them a broad understanding of current social problems and social movements. Then they will be less easily misled.

The average person today does not appreciate honest and accurate news reporting. A newspaper of high quality (e.g., the *Christian Science Monitor* or the *New York Times*) cannot hope for so large a circulation as a tabloid. Screaming headlines, exaggerations, appeals to passion, one-sided reports of international affairs,

and attacks against unpopular minorities seem to be necessary if a newspaper is to enjoy a wide sale. The newspaper owner is obliged to cater to popular taste. It has been said that bad newspapers drive good ones out of circulation. This is the fault of all those people who prefer a bad newspaper to a good one.

Summary. Government is upheld by public opinion. In stable societies, public opinion is static; it supports the traditional customs, morals, and laws; it is opposed to change. In rapidly changing societies such as ours, people become discontented with the old ways that have proved inadequate; from their complaints and discussion and proposals for reform new ways emerge. The process by which a new way is worked out and then enforced is what we mean by constructive or dynamic public opinion.

In a perfectly democratic society every group of adults would have an equal chance to make its ideas heard. From the pooling of these ideas, a consensus of opinion would be arrived at, and all groups presently would accept the will of the majority. In practice some groups have a larger share in the opinion-making process than others. Those who have been partially or wholly excluded from voicing their ideas will be slow in accepting the will of the more favored groups. There is always the danger that they will refuse or be unable to conform to a public opinion in whose making they did not share.

For public opinion to be sound several conditions are necessary: (1) adequate and impartial diffusion of information, (2) free speech and a free press, (3) free expression for unpopular facts and ideas, and (4) education of the people for critical thinking. In modern times certain men, known as propagandists, publicity experts, and promoters, devote themselves to the manipulation of public opinion. They use all their cunning and all their knowledge of human weaknesses in inducing

people to respond uncritically in the ways that best suit their particular purposes. Propaganda is becoming an ever greater menace as the agencies of communication (press, radio, cinema) become concentrated in fewer hands. If democratic government is to survive, except in name, ways must be found to control propaganda.

WORD STUDY

dynamic public opinion
propaganda

static public opinion
stereotype

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Is any part of the population wholly excluded from the making of public opinion? Which groups have least influence?
2. Differentiate between the two kinds of public opinion. Which kind predominates?
3. Why is free association between various groups in the population a necessary basis for democratic public opinion?
4. Does a leader create public opinion? Explain.
5. Can anyone who wishes to lead get himself accepted as a leader? How is a leader chosen by any group?
6. Enumerate the defects of public opinion.
7. How does a stereotype create a tendency to respond in a particular way?
8. Who creates our stereotypes? Will the people accept any stereotype that is repeated sufficiently often?
9. Illustrate wishful thinking in relation to world peace.
10. Why is it unwise to deny to minorities the right to discuss and to publish their ideas?
11. How is propaganda opposed to the true aim of education?
12. Is the source of propaganda, with the interests it serves, always concealed? What distinguishes a piece of propaganda from a piece of accurate news reporting?
13. How do propagandists sometimes divert public attention?
14. Why is the public partly to blame for tales of atrocity?
15. How do bad newspapers drive good ones out of circulation?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Appoint a committee to prepare an exhibit of cartoons relating to some important issue.
2. Appoint a committee to prepare an exhibit of posters containing well-known stereotypes.
3. Write a paper on the influence of some notable cartoonist.
4. Prepare a report on the use of propaganda in wartime.
5. Make a list of slogans used in presidential campaigns.
6. Search for illustrations of the suppression of important news by newspapers. Chapter VII of *Changing America* by Edward Ross contains numerous examples.
7. What is a scapegoat? Can you illustrate?
8. Mention unethical practices that are not yet condemned by the average citizen.
9. The leader is the channel through which the group will find expression. Explain, giving illustrations in recent history of the popular hunger for effective leadership.
10. The majority of people are not aware that free speech is restricted in any way. How do you explain this?
11. Radicalism is often a reaction to humiliating and hurtful experiences, a mood rather than a doctrine. Does this suggest how it can be cured?
12. It is customary to withhold information from children, the sick, and the mentally ill. Does this increase their dependence and helplessness? Can you illustrate?
13. Do you accept the common belief that some of the facts on political and social questions should be withheld from the public? Was it wise to conceal the extent of unemployment at the beginning of the Depression? Should the outbreak of a contagious disease in a city which recently held a costly exposition have been kept secret? Defend your answer. Can you cite additional examples?
14. Can you suggest ways of curbing propaganda? How would you curb propaganda without endangering free speech?
15. Does the right of free speech include the right to tell lies? To utter unpopular facts? Unpopular opinions?
16. Examine the monthly letter, *Propaganda Analysis*, published by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Inc.

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UNIT X



INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY

CHAPTER XXIV. THE SHADOW OF THE NEXT WAR. Cost of the World War in money and life. Threat of another world conflict: economic nationalism. The folly of imperialism. Can the United States count on remaining neutral?

CHAPTER XXV. EMERGING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. Various nonpolitical organizations. The League of Nations. The two international courts: The Hague Tribunal; the Permanent Court of International Justice. The International Labor Organization.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SHADOW OF THE NEXT WAR

What did the World War cost?

Why does another world war still threaten?

Which nations are the Haves and which are the Havenots?

Is imperialism worth what it costs?

Would the United States remain neutral in the event of another world war?

WAR, more ancient than history, is the outcome of defective institutions and of follies, fallacies, misconceptions, common to the great mass of men. These are not incurable misconceptions, not incurable follies. But they may well become so if we persist in assuming that they don't exist; that we need not trouble ourselves about them because war is due to a little clique of evil "interests." So long as we take the line that "the People" (i.e., we ourselves) are innocent of error, then we might hang every war profiteer in existence, and find, on the morrow, human society as helplessly as ever in the grip of some new folly, stimulated by a new group interested in exploiting it.¹

SIR NORMAN ANGELL

INSTITUTIONS are not self-regulating. They are likely to keep on developing in the direction in which they have started. Like a snowball rolling downhill, they may keep on growing, even though they have become both unnecessary and a threat to society. The vested interests of those to whom they give prestige, power, or profit, and the conservatism, the ignorance, and the indifference of the masses of people, are responsible for this curious condition that is called *cultural inertia*. (See pp. 28–30.)

Dueling is an example of how an injurious institution may perpetuate itself while continually becoming more

¹ Sir Norman Angell, *Peace and the Plain Man* (Harper and Brothers, 1935), pp. 80–81.

elaborate. The persecution of religious and political heretics (those who uphold an unpopular doctrine) is another example. It has kept whole nations torn with fear and dissension, sometimes for generations at a time. The propaganda which corrupts public opinion today is created by institutions that seem to be growing stronger and more complicated. These and a host of other examples illustrate the inertia by which an institution once set in motion may continue to develop, though opposed to the best interests of the society which suffers it.

The most complete proof that human beings are irrational is war. The almost bloodless forays of primitive men upon their neighbors, seeking wives, cattle, and plunder, have become a war machinery so gigantic, so efficient in death-dealing, as to lay whole continents waste, to wipe out practically all the able-bodied young men, to plunge great populations into poverty and fear for a century to come. And the mass of men acquiesce in the existence and the growth of this complex of war institutions. They think, if they consider the matter at all, that war is inevitable.

The Cost of the World War

The Money Cost of the World War. War is far more costly today than in the past. The direct cost of all wars everywhere in the world between 1793 and 1910 is estimated at 23 billion dollars. The direct cost of the World War was 186 billion dollars. This includes only the cost of ammunition, war supplies, and other direct military expenses. When the indirect costs of the World War are also counted, including the property losses, and the value of the lives lost (figured at \$2500 each), the total reaches the staggering sum of \$400,000,000,000. "With that money," says Dr. Nich-

olas Murray Butler, "we could have built a \$2500 house, furnished it with \$1000 worth of furniture, placed it on five acres of land worth \$100 an acre, and given this home to each and every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Germany, and Russia. We could have given to each city of 20,000 inhabitants and over, in each country named, a \$5,000,000 library and a \$10,000,000 university. Out of what was left we could have set aside a sum at five per cent that would provide a \$1000 yearly salary for an army of 125,000 teachers and a like salary for another army of 125,000 nurses."

As a result of this stupendous waste of money and materials the economic life of the whole world has been disorganized. Business relations between the warring nations have not yet returned to normal. World trade has been cut in half. Credit systems have broken down; debtors, both nations and individuals, have been unable to pay their debts. The depreciation of currencies, due to the overloading of the credit structure by wartime borrowing, has wiped out, wholly or in part, the savings of the middle class in every country. Enormous profits made by suppliers of armaments and war materials greatly intensified the maldistribution of income, which is a fundamental cause both of the depressions and the speculative booms that harass industrial countries.

On the whole the world is producing vastly less today than it would have been producing had the war not intervened. If, for example, the forty years of growth in the production of minerals preceding the war could have continued without a break, the world would now be producing half again as much as in 1928 or 1929.¹

¹ C. M. Snyder, "The World-wide Depression of 1930," *American Economic Review*, XXI, no. 1, supplement (March, 1931), p. 172.



DEATH IS THE GREATEST VICTOR IN WAR

The Cost in Life and Suffering. Modern war is incomparably more deadly than ever before. A new world war would undoubtedly be still more destructive than the last. It would ravage a wider territory, would be as dangerous to civilians as to soldiers. Without warning, entire cities can now be laid waste by attack from the air.

In the World War ten million soldiers were killed outright — one every ten seconds that the conflict continued. Twenty million other soldiers were wounded, three million of whom died from wounds. Deaths among civilians directly chargeable to the war (principally from famine, disease, and massacres) are variously estimated. One of the most recent and careful studies places the civilian death list at twenty-eight million.

Thirteen million of the most vigorous young men were selected for death. Thereby the warring nations lost a large percentage of their healthiest human stock. It is improbable that the efforts of the eugenists can in many centuries repair this damage to the quality and vigor of the race.

A generation of young women in the warring nations lost their mates. Five million were made widows and millions more were left without prospect of marriage. Besides, nine million children were orphaned. In addition, ten million people were driven from their homes, most of them never to return.

Few of the soldiers who got to the front came back with their full physical and nervous vigor. The prevalence of mental disease among veterans is proof of the strain to which they were subjected. Millions who appeared normal enough found difficulty in adjusting themselves again to their ordinary occupations. The restlessness and lawlessness of youth in the decade after the war seem to have been a reaction to the horror and folly of the mass slaughter in which their elders had engaged.

The Cost to the United States. The United States suffered only a small fraction of the casualties suffered by European nations — 107,000 killed and 152,000 wounded. Nor did our people experience the paralyzing fear and the extreme privations which prevailed throughout Europe. We escaped as well the political upheavals that convulsed central and eastern Europe after the war. Nevertheless, our standard of living (as in every other warring country) is much lower than it would have been had we not entered the war. Our taxes are very much higher than they otherwise would have been. Much of the federal revenue for at least two more generations will be used in paying old war debts instead of for such urgently needed public

improvements as slum clearance, housing, and rural hospitals.

The direct cost of the World War to the United States amounts to:

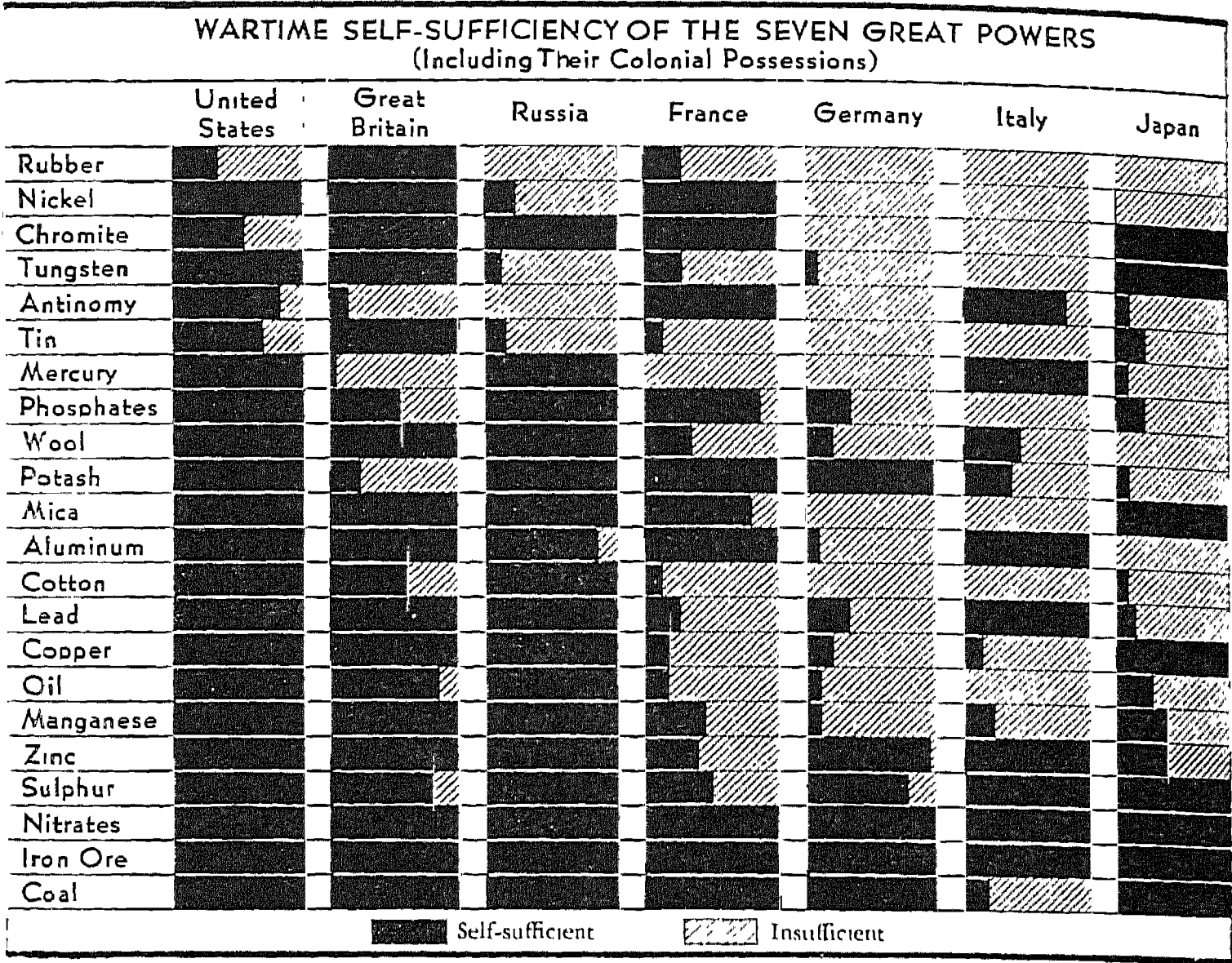
Loss to national income by subtraction from productivity of killed and wounded	\$ 8,700,000,000
Direct domestic debt plus interest charges	38,000,000,000
Loss of repayment of foreign loans plus interest for 65 years	22,000,000,000
Veteran care, relief, and pensions already authorized or expended	<u>20,000,000,000</u>
	\$88,700,000,000 ¹

Should we reckon the cost to the United States of the economic dislocations produced by the war — the vast increase in the acreage devoted to export crops for which there is now no market, the orgy of speculation due to huge war-made fortunes, the terrible depression that followed the collapse of the boom — we should obtain a sum several times larger than the direct war cost.

The Threat of Another World Conflict

Is Another World War in the Making? Never have the nations been so heavily armed as they are today, and never have they been so suspicious and fearful of one another. In this situation a minor incident may lead to war, and any war in our interdependent world may easily become a world war. The experiences of the United States from 1914 to 1917 indicate that the attempt to remain neutral is beset with enormous risks. Foreign loans, a brisk trade with the belligerent that commands the seas, incessant propaganda, and finally, the injuries that are inevitably inflicted upon neutral shipping — combine to lead the neutral into the war.

¹ J. M. Clark, *Costs of the War to the American People* (Yale University Press, 1931).



From Rich Land, Poor Land, by Stuart Chase, by permission of Whittlesey House

Which of the Great Powers Is Most Nearly Self-Sufficient in the Twenty-Two Essential Raw Materials Listed?

Economic Nationalism. The policy of economic nationalism which has flourished in aggravated form since the World War is probably the gravest threat to peace. Economic nationalism aims at the greatest possible degree of national self-sufficiency. It is expressed in high tariffs, quotas, manipulation of the currency, and other restrictions upon the free movement of goods, raw materials, and capital from one country to another.

In the long run economic nationalism is opposed to true prosperity, since it prevents the specialization by each country in the production of those things for which it has the greatest natural advantages. We know that if every one of our forty-eight states were trying to be self-sufficient, and to that end had erected barriers to keep out the products of other states, the

United States could never have become nearly so prosperous as it is. In the same way trade barriers between national states act to reduce the prosperity of the world.

The policy of economic nationalism is most disastrous to nations poor in natural resources. When they cannot sell their products abroad, they cannot buy the raw materials they need to keep their factories running. Therefore they cannot supply their people with the manufactured goods demanded for a high standard of living. They see that they are virtually in the power of the few states which have abundant and varied natural resources.

During the great Depression the United States, the British Empire, and the Soviet Union (which have a virtual monopoly of most of the essential raw materials) erected high tariff walls. These walls kept out the largest portion of the goods which Germany, Italy, and Japan wanted to exchange for raw materials. An acute crisis resulted in these three states; without an adequate supply of raw materials they could not meet their own domestic needs. This is one reason that these countries are now vigorously seeking colonies. Their peoples have come to believe that war is preferable to the endurance of their economic disadvantages.

The Haves and the Havenots. The great powers may be divided into Haves and Havenots. The Haves include the United States, the British Empire, and the Soviet Union. Their lands are large and rich in food-stuffs and raw materials. None of them can get along entirely without imports, but since they possess raw materials which other countries must have, they are able to pay for whatever imports they need. France is also a Have, although she is less well-favored with raw materials than the others. However, her population is

stable and she has no trouble in producing all her own foodstuffs. Her industries are extremely varied and mostly of small size, so that she does not require large supplies of raw materials. Furthermore, her enormous tourist industry and her fame as a fashion center bring her the money with which to buy whatever she needs. Accordingly, France, the United States, the British Empire, and the Soviet Union are anxious to maintain the *status quo*. They have nothing to gain by war and everything to lose.

Germany, Italy, and Japan are the Havenots among the great powers. Each of them is seriously lacking both in foodstuffs and essential raw materials. In addition, Germany has two grievances which she is determined to have righted. For one thing, she is eager to abolish the Polish Corridor which divides Germany into two parts. Second, she wants her colonies back again. Their loss was a terrific blow to her national pride. Besides, the German people, accepting an outworn economic theory, imagine that these colonies are essential to the recovery of their prosperity. If little Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal have great colonial empires, they ask, why should the great German nation have none? Like Germany, both Italy and Japan have, or claim to have, various grievances, for the sake of which they are ready to make war against their neighbors.

The Havenots Prepare for War. In Germany, Italy, and Japan a militaristic party is in power. The people have been groomed for the war which they are told is inevitable. All the devices of propaganda and censorship are being used to shape public opinion. The only way they can correct their economic sufferings is, they are told, by conquest. "The willingness to assume the burden of armaments and to accept autocratic government may in the last analysis be the price which the

masses in many countries are willing to pay in order to attempt to win the economic equality on which alone social security and a decent standard of living can be based.”¹

Is War the Solution? War in the modern world seems to raise far more questions than it settles. It inevitably plants seeds of future conflicts. For instance, after the Germans took Alsace-Lorraine from France in 1870, the French were determined some day to get it back. The Treaty of Versailles created a score of fresh danger spots. The attempt to give self-determination to several national minorities in the Danube basin has left the Magyars and the Germans who dwell there without self-determination. In fact, the situation in Europe is far less stable now than it was before 1914. But another European war could not possibly lead to greater stability. Problems too complicated to be solved by arbitration cannot be adjusted by force of arms.

Even the Havenots would not, in the long run, gain by going to war. No lesson of the last war is clearer than that a long conflict exhausts and impoverishes both victor and vanquished. The value of any territory that could possibly be obtained by war is less than the money cost, all things considered, of getting it. However, warlike dictators do not stop to figure costs. Their own power and glory are worth more to them than anything else. Their skill in swaying the emotions of the masses insures that their people will support their warlike policies.

Is a Peaceful Solution Possible? In the Covenant of the League of Nations is a farsighted provision: the Assembly shall “advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions

¹ Phillips Bradley, *Can We Stay Out of War?* (W. W. Norton and Company, 1936), p. 25.

whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." The Versailles treaty should long ago have been reconsidered. League experts have been studying the raw materials problem, but it is difficult to imagine any solution except the gradual lowering of trade barriers. The first World Economic Conference met in London in 1933 to discuss how to restore world trade and how to bring about more stable economic relations between nations. Had it succeeded, it might have checked the growth of economic nationalism. Its failure before it was even well begun was due to the refusal of the United States to agree to stabilize its currency.

The fact that such a conference even assembled is encouraging. The wish to co-operate may lead in time to practical results. The danger is that action will be postponed too long. If the Haves do not voluntarily assist the Havenots to become prosperous (particularly by enabling them to buy raw materials on favorable terms), then a general war is certain. The problem should be restated. It is not "How prevent another war?" but "How construct a just, stable, and workable international society?"

In this problem the United States is vitally interested. The only sure way of keeping America out of war is to see that war does not break out anywhere. Otherwise there is grave danger that we will be drawn in. We have, therefore, a vital interest in every co-operative effort looking toward better international relations.

The Price of Peace. To maintain peace, the Haves will be obliged to make some sacrifice. Otherwise they cannot satisfy the demands of the Havenots. The trouble is that no powerful nation seems to be willing to yield an acre of territory or give up a few dollars of immediate profits, no matter how advantageous such a concession might prove in the long run.

Japan, for example, wanted a sort of Monroe Doctrine in the Asiatic region. She asserted the right to supervise Chinese financial and political relations with the outside world so as to insure herself from a Chinese attack sustained by foreign loans and supplies. She also wanted preference in the Chinese market. British, American, French, and Russian trade with China would thereby suffer. The question was, would these nations sacrifice part of their business with China (a small fraction of their total export business) in order to give Japan what she so greatly needed? Because they would not consent to Japan's demand, Japan decided to take what she wanted by force. The other powers must now either acquiesce or take part in a long-drawn-out Asiatic war.

Another sacrifice that might go far to insure peace requires the return to Germany of her African colonies. Still better might be the "open door" policy in all colonies, that every nation could sell in colonial markets. Several years ago a sacrifice was asked of France, namely, that she consent to the Austro-German Customs Union which was so vital to the prosperity of Austria and Germany. Had France permitted this, the improved economic conditions that probably would have followed might have saved democracy in Germany and also saved the independence of Austria. However, no great power is yet ready to surrender its complete freedom of action in order to preserve the peace. That is why the powers do not agree to use the League of Nations to restrain an aggressor.

The outlook is not altogether encouraging. It will take time for the peoples of the earth to learn to co-operate to insure the prosperity and security of all. The need for co-operation became urgent only a few decades ago. It is a misfortune that the growth of new social machinery is so slow. Organization to insure

peace may not be ready soon enough to avert another world war, and in that event western civilization may not survive.

The Folly of Imperialism

Is Large Territory Necessary to National Greatness? According to a common notion, there never can be peace until the world is divided up among a few great powers of approximately equal size. It is assumed that any state which has less territory than its neighbors is necessarily handicapped.

Yet some of the smaller nations enjoy as high a standard of living and as high a level of culture as any great power. In the Scandinavian countries, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the well-being and culture of the average citizen compare favorably with that of any other country in the Old World. These countries have never been much interested in empire. Instead of seeking colonies in which to invest capital, they have concentrated on their domestic development. Their foreign trade has not been obtained by a struggle for spheres of influence in Asia and Africa. They sell to their near-by neighbors, particularly to England, enough to enable them to buy the raw materials they lack and the machinery which they cannot themselves profitably produce. They do not maintain heavy armaments. They are eager to see the League of Nations develop a system of co-operative security, and each has a record of co-operation with the League that excels the record of any non-Scandinavian country.

If we look at our own forty-eight states, we can plainly see that their prosperity is in no way related to their size. Rhode Island ranks high in per capita wealth; Texas ranks low. Not area, but location, natural resources, and the degree of industrial development, determine the rank of the states in per capita

wealth. However, were the states not part of a great free-trade area — the entire United States — their rank in wealth might be different. If every state were trying to be self-sufficient, those states of large area, were their population proportionately large, would have some slight advantage over very small states, since they could produce goods on a larger scale. Perhaps the little states would exaggerate the handicap of small size and would go to war in order to get more territory.

The Illusion of National Possession. A change in political relationship does not alter economic relationships at all. Germany could feed her population from the resources of Canada and Australia in about the same way as can Great Britain. If she owned Canada and Australia she would still have to pay for whatever she wanted of their products, and they would set up barriers to keep her products out, just as now they exclude certain products of Great Britain. Sir Norman Angell has pointed out the illusion of national possession. "When a victorious nation 'captures' a province (as Germany captured Alsace-Lorraine), there is no transfer of property from one group to another. There is a change of government, of political administration, which may be good, bad, or indifferent; worth dying to resist or not greatly worth bothering about. But speaking broadly, there is no transfer of property from one group to another; the land, the houses, farms, factories, bonds, shares, furniture, clothes, remain in the same possession after the war as before."¹

The Era of Imperialism. During the last part of the nineteenth century the industrial nations appropriated much of Asia, and nearly all of Africa and Oceania. These colonial empires were desired (1) as markets for the surplus manufactured goods of the mother country, (2) as places for the profitable investment of surplus

¹ Sir Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1933).

funds, and (3) as sources of valuable raw materials and foodstuffs.

When a great power found difficulty in taking a backward country as a colony, it often took it as a protectorate or a "sphere of influence." Thus the backward country came under the control of industrialists and bankers of the great power. In China several European countries established "spheres of influence," and parts of Latin America became "spheres of influence" for American enterprisers. Protectorates and spheres of influence offer practically all the advantages of colonies without any responsibility for the natives.

Colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence were obtained and kept by military force. Businessmen wrung concessions from the weaker countries while battleships hovered near by. After they had invested in mines and factories they demanded the continued protection of their home governments. Thus the British capitalist who owned gold mines in the Transvaal, Africa, sought to have British soldiers subdue the Boers. The Boer War resulted and the Transvaal was added to the British Empire.

The European powers who were engaged in this struggle for colonies, trade routes, and spheres of influence were bitter rivals. Each was trying to secure for its businessmen the lion's share of African, Asiatic, and Oceanic trade. Each power feared that the others were getting an advantage and tried to hamper the others' plans by secret agreements with native rulers and by fomenting native uprisings.

Neo-Mercantilism. The worst feature of this imperialistic policy was the theory that a government should protect its citizens and their investments wherever they might happen to be. This requires the maintenance of powerful navies and the readiness to intervene whenever and wherever a businessman is having trouble with

the natives. In China the great powers actually established their own courts for hearing any claim by a native against one of their citizens. Naturally, the natives rarely won a case, and their bitterness against foreigners found expression in 1900 in the Boxer uprisings.

The idea that a government should aid its citizens in business affairs abroad is called "neo-mercantilism." It is a fundamental cause of war. The clash of interests between rival groups seeking the same concessions, loans, and markets is a constant invitation to armed intervention. It resulted in numerous wars prior to 1914, and was one of the underlying causes of the World War. It is closely identified with the policy of economic nationalism so conspicuous today.

It is interesting to note that the commercial rivalry between Germany and Great Britain, the bitter struggle of each to dominate the markets of the world, paved the way for the World War. Yet Britain had less trade after the elimination of her greatest competitor than she had before. She could not compel a defeated Germany to buy her surplus goods nor induce the markets Germany once served to buy from her. Even her own customers no longer bought so much of her surplus, either because they were impoverished by the war or because the war had stimulated their progress toward self-sufficiency. One of the strangest of postwar paradoxes occurred not long after the hostilities had ceased. London lent money to Germany to re-establish her industries and trade, that Germany should again be prosperous enough to buy British goods.

Is Imperialism Out of Date? Disregarding the colonial ambitions of Germany, Italy, and Japan, there is reason to believe that the imperialistic era is on the wane. Great Britain has given almost complete independence to her Dominions. India has been promised Dominion status. The British mandate over Iraq has been sur-

rendered and the independence of Iraq recognized. Egypt has become practically independent. France has given Syria independence. Iran, Siam, and Turkey have escaped in large part from the economic control of their creditors. Similarly, American spheres of influence in Latin America are regaining control over their financial and industrial life. Our marines have been withdrawn from Haiti and Nicaragua, and the Platt Amendment giving the United States the right to intervene in Cuba has been abandoned. Still more significant, Congress has voted that the Philippines shall be given complete independence. There are many other signs that imperialism is out of date. Let us consider briefly the reasons.

1. *The expense of administration and defense.* The cost of administering and defending a weak and backward possession is enormous. Often this expense is out of proportion to the profit obtained by exploiting it. To insure the "open door" in China and to safeguard the Philippines, the United States maintains a far larger navy than would otherwise be necessary. Our exports to Asia and Oceania in 1933 were but \$327,393,000, and in 1934, \$458,396,000; yet it was costing \$400,000,000 a year to maintain our navy. It might be cheaper to withdraw entirely from Asiatic and Oceanic markets (should any power attempt to exclude us from them) than to continue to maintain so large a navy.

2. *The restiveness of subject peoples.* Government by a foreign power, however enlightened, is always hateful. Subject peoples soon begin to clamor for the right of self-determination. Their continual uprisings are costly and destructive. In order to pacify them, they must be given schools, hospitals, and positions in the government. The further they advance, the more persistently do they demand their freedom.

A sphere of influence does not awaken so much opposi-

tion from the natives. They are less visibly under the control of a foreign government. But in time they realize that large profits are being drained out of their country; their government takes courage and begins to impose restrictions on the foreign capitalists. Concessions may be canceled and franchises revoked in order to secure more favorable terms. Thus, Iran in 1932 canceled the concession of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. This had been granted in 1901 for \$20,000, and had been fabulously profitable to the company. With the assistance of the Council of the League of Nations, a new and more just contract was executed, by which a larger share of the profits goes to the Iranian government. This is typical of the process by which backward regions are freeing themselves from economic bondage. Mexico in the past dozen years has made notable progress in this direction, as have several other Latin-American states.

3. *Backward areas become industrialized.* Once a backward area comes under the political or financial control of an industrial nation, its own industries are rapidly developed. Englishmen have invested large sums in India, in order to take advantage of the cheap native labor. Thereby India has begun to produce most of the manufactures she formerly imported. Her factories are already turning out a large surplus of textiles, with disastrous results to the British textile industry. Japan is troubled by the rapid industrial advance of Manchukuo made possible by Japanese capital. At best a colony or protectorate provides only a temporary market for the mother country's surplus. As it matures it erects tariff barriers to keep out foreign products, even those of the mother country.

4. *Conquest is no longer necessary to provide areas of investment.* Military conquest was once helpful in opening up a backward region as an area in which to invest

surplus capital. But today practically every backward country is eager for investors. Besides, anyone with funds to invest can buy on the nearest stock exchange shares of enterprises in every part of the world. Advanced countries are frequently more attractive areas of investment than those that are less advanced. Americans have very heavy investments in Canada and Europe, while Europeans hold many securities and lands in the United States.

5. *Military power cannot be used to collect debts.* There has long been a theory that force can be used to collect dividends on investments and to compel the repayment of loans. A few incidents that happened before the World War seemed to support this notion, but events since the war have discredited it completely. The weakest state can refuse to pay its obligations and the strongest is unable to compel it. American bankers have lent lavishly to numerous Central and South American states. Most of these loans have been defaulted and no one expects that they ever will be paid. Military occupation cannot put a bankrupt country on its feet or enable it to meet its obligations. From 1923 to 1925 the French occupied the Ruhr in an attempt to force Germany (then very weak and completely disarmed) to pay reparations, but the occupation was of little avail. The only way that a debt can be collected from a penniless creditor is by helping him become prosperous again. This means, of course, aiding him to sell his products and labor.

6. *Vast surpluses of foodstuffs and raw materials are available.* Unlimited supplies of food and raw materials congest the markets of the world. Japan needs neither political nor financial control of China in order to buy Chinese products. Whether or not she has control of a region, she must pay for whatever she takes from it exactly as must any other buyer. Curiously enough,

the mother country sometimes pays more for products from her colonies than she would pay on the open market. Thus, the British Dominions insist that Great Britain give preference to Dominion products, and the Philippines send their products to the United States without paying duties.

Nevertheless, the belief that colonies are necessary to provide raw materials and foodstuffs is still widely held. It is responsible for the present warlike attitude of Germany, Italy, and Japan, each of whom must import most of the essential raw materials as well as large quantities of food. Unless they can export their surplus products they are unable to pay for the imports they need. Considerable relief can be found through reciprocal trade agreements, by which two countries agree to exchange products of equivalent value. The United States might, for instance, agree to admit a certain quantity of German toys and leather goods, on condition that Germany take American petroleum of equal value. This is an attempt to apply the primitive barter system to international commerce. Many students of the problem believe that what is really needed is the gradual reduction of trade barriers throughout the world. Were this to come about, the raw material question would probably cease to threaten world peace.

Even without a freer interchange of imports and exports, the foodstuffs problem is capable of solution. Recent discoveries in agrobiological science indicate that any piece of land can be made several times more productive than it is under ordinary methods of handling. This is possible through the use of improved strains of seed, the eradication of plant diseases and insect pests, the application of large quantities of chemical fertilizers, and supplementary irrigation. Italy has already made herself practically self-sustaining in wheat; she holds the world's record for yield per acre. Dr. O. W. Willcox

in his book, *Nations Can Live at Home*, has successfully attacked the claim that Germany, Italy, and Japan need more land to provide adequate food for their expanding population. Even Japan, he says, not only can make itself self-sufficient in foods, but can greatly improve the present diet of its people. An average investment of about two hundred dollars to the acre would be enough to accomplish this program — a trifling part of what it is costing Japan to engage in war.

7. *A new idea of national interest has arisen.* During the imperialistic era it was thought that the greatness and prosperity of a nation were determined by its possessions, foreign investments, and foreign commerce. A typical statement of this idea occurs in a speech by Senator Beveridge in 1898:

American factories are making more than the American people can use; American soil is producing more than they can consume. Fate has written our policy for us; the trade of the world must and shall be ours. . . . We shall establish trading posts throughout the world as distributing points for American products. We will cover the ocean with our merchant marine. We will build a navy to the measure of our greatness. Great colonies governing themselves, flying our flag and trading with us, will grow about our posts of trade.

It is still true that a flourishing foreign trade — that is, large exports *and* imports — is advantageous to any nation. But it is increasingly recognized that imperialism is a costly method of getting rid of products that are really needed by the masses at home. In no country has the domestic market yet been satisfied, even for simple necessities. The problem of creating greater domestic buying power, long neglected in favor of capturing foreign markets, is at last receiving attention. The national interest is seen to be the widespread enjoyment of a high standard of living. Far-flung colonies have no value to a nation except as they improve the welfare

of that nation's average family. Because they seldom bring such an improvement, the desirability of possessing colonies is being seriously questioned. Insofar as imperialism is actually declining, one of the worst threats to peace is being diminished. Unfortunately public opinion in every one of the great powers is still imperialistic.

Can the United States Count on Remaining Neutral?

The Question of Neutral Rights. The new idea of national interest has led in the United States to serious thinking about the value of neutral rights. Why, people are asking, should a government involve itself in war in order to uphold the rights of shipowners and suppliers of war materials to trade with belligerents? In 1935, 1936, and 1937 Congress redefined our policy of neutrality. This legislation is an attempt to prevent a repetition of those experiences which drew us into the World War.

American Experience as a Neutral from 1914 to 1917. In August, 1914, Secretary of State Bryan and President Wilson told American bankers that for them to make loans to the belligerent nations would render American neutrality difficult and perhaps impossible. The Allies wanted large quantities of arms and war materials from American businessmen, but, without credits from our bankers, were unable to obtain them. Meanwhile, as a result of the turmoil in Europe, American factories were slowing down and unemployment was increasing. Industrial depression threatened and business interests sent a rising flood of protests to Washington. The choice before the President was to preserve our neutrality and let the country endure a prolonged depression, or to lift the ban on loans to the belligerents. Under pressure from bankers, shippers, and industrialists, the President decided to allow our banks to extend short-term credits to the Allies.

Between October, 1914, and August, 1915, large shipments of goods went to Europe. American factories worked day and night; wages rose; there were jobs for all; farmers planted millions of marginal acres that should never have felt the plow; hundreds of ships were built in our shipyards. By midsummer of 1915 this boom was checked. The Allies needed a large loan; their currencies were declining dangerously in value. As their American purchases slowed up, depression again loomed in the United States. President Wilson therefore consented to the floating here of huge loans for the Allies. By the spring of 1917 the American people had a costly stake in the Allies' success. Under these conditions the problems created by the submarine were such as to make war almost a certainty.

Loans to the Allies were only one reason for our entrance into the war. From the beginning of the war the United States asserted its historic claim to the freedom of the seas, even to the right of free trade in the war zone. Both the Allies and the Central Powers hampered our shipping as much as possible. On December 23, 1916, Secretary of State Lansing told the Washington correspondents, "Our rights are more and more traversed by the belligerents on both sides. We are getting nearer and nearer the brink of war." By this time it was clear that the only way to maintain neutral rights was to fight *all* the belligerents.

Another important cause was propaganda. From the outbreak of the war, publicity agents of both the Allied and the Central Powers were at work in the United States. Those of the Central Powers were less skillful. Moreover, great private interests had bound themselves financially to the Allied cause. As time went on, nearly all of our newspapers became violently pro-Ally. They gave an increasingly one-sided account of the news. The continual interference by the Allies with American

shipping was ignored, while German interference was magnified. We were led to feel that our national honor demanded the punishment of Germany.

Recent Neutrality Legislation. In the hope that it might keep us out of the world war which seemed imminent, Congress in 1935, 1936, and 1937 passed temporary legislation of extraordinary significance. It provided that:

1. The President shall proclaim an absolute embargo on shipments of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to any belligerent country when he finds that a state of war exists abroad.
2. American ships shall not transport these to any belligerent.
3. A warning shall be issued to American citizens that they travel on the seas at their own risk.
4. Loans or credit extensions shall not be granted to belligerents except for ordinary licensed commercial transactions.

This legislation was a compromise. It was opposed by some of the important interests whose profits it would restrict. These interests were able to limit the embargo to munitions. Many people felt that the embargo should also include essential war materials such as oil, copper, steel, and scrap iron, and such things as trucks, tractors, and airplanes. Others were dissatisfied because the embargo would punish both the aggressor and the victim of aggression. This involves a moral question which ought to concern the United States, inasmuch as our government was active in promulgating the Pact of Paris, under which aggressive war has been outlawed. If a majority of the signers of the Pact agree on which belligerent is the aggressor, should not the embargo against the victim be lifted? This is but one of the questions sure to be hotly disputed whenever Congress frames a new neutrality measure.

Will Neutrality Legislation Hold? It is easy to talk of preserving neutrality in time of peace, but once a world war has begun, shall we succeed in remaining neutral?

War between two great powers is sure to affect our prosperity at once. In the first place, our ordinary peacetime trade will be interrupted, and depression will threaten us. In the second place, there will be the opportunity of an enormous trade with whichever belligerent controls the seas. If the President declares an embargo on munitions and credits to the belligerents, he will be under pressure from many interests. Bankers may say that the way to put business on its feet is to make loans to the belligerents. Many shippers, miners, farmers, wage earners, factory owners, and investors will urge the lifting of the embargo. Self-styled "patriots" will talk of the freedom of the seas, and will claim that to abandon this right is to degrade the national honor. Propaganda from all these sources and from the warring nations will make calm thinking impossible.

A newspaper man has catalogued the groups likely to influence public opinion toward war and away from neutrality:

Among the actual and potential fomenters of war are the following: First, manufacturers of armaments and munitions. Under modern conditions of war, munitions include most of the products of agriculture and industry. Second, militarists. Although they often profess themselves humanitarian ("the best pacifists are in the army"), they are bound to seek a field of action worthy of their special talents. Third, domestic bankers, involved potentially or actually in the manufacture of munitions. Fourth, international bankers, with investments and spheres of influence abroad. Fifth, politicians and rabble rousers, serving industrial and financial interests or seeking a theater for dramatic leadership. Sixth, ardent patriots. . . . They are so sensitive to the national honor that they easily fall prey to the fomenters of war. Seventh, the sensational press and radio, eager to dramatize conflict. Eighth, our potential

allies. In the moment of crisis their propaganda would ruthlessly exploit bonds of sentiment and blood. While this list is not complete, it suggests some of the more important sources from which a demand for war might arise.¹

Although our people as a whole are anxious to stay out of war, the pressure of these highly organized groups, once a major war has begun, may prove to be irresistible. We must therefore avoid pinning too much hope on neutrality legislation. It is imperative that we join with other countries in collective measures to maintain the peace. Our co-operation is particularly needed in efforts to stabilize financial and commercial relations. We should find ways to implement the Pact of Paris outlawing war. We should most earnestly examine our isolationist policy. Can we afford not to join the World Court? How can we best contribute to the emerging organization to restrain aggressors? Has isolation not become impossible? These and other problems confront us. Though we evade them, they still pursue us.

WORD STUDY

economic imperialism
ethnic unity
neo-mercantilism

sphere of influence
status quo

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How did the World War contribute to the world-wide depression in the early 1920's?
2. Show that the World War was partly responsible for the speculative boom between 1926 and 1929 and the following depression in the United States.
3. What is economic nationalism? What are its methods?
4. How does economic nationalism on the part of nations rich in raw materials disastrously affect the less fortunate states?

¹ O. W. Riegel, "The Propaganda Balance Sheet," the *New Republic*, LXXXIV, p. 11.

5. Name the seven great powers. Which of them may be designated as Haves? Which are the Havenots? Explain.
6. What are Germany's principal grievances?
7. Why is the gradual reduction of tariff barriers considered to be necessary for the peace of the world?
8. Mention some sacrifices by the Haves that would lessen the danger of war.
9. What urges led to the quest for colonies in the latter part of the nineteenth century?
10. Explain what is meant by a sphere of influence. Give examples. Why is a sphere of influence likely to be more profitable than a colony?
11. How did the policy of neo-mercantilism lead to war?
12. Explain why imperialism is losing favor with the Haves.
13. Contrast the old and the new idea of national interest.
14. The maintenance of neutral rights in the event of a war between the great powers is said to be impossible. Explain.
15. What were the principal provisions of the neutrality legislation passed by Congress in 1935, 1936, and 1937? What were some of its weaknesses?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. The character of the next world war.
2. The arguments for and against the government ownership of munitions plants.
3. Methods suggested for implementing the Pact of Paris.
4. Prepare posters enumerating the various financial and human costs of the World War to the world and to the United States.
5. What was the effect of the World War on the world production of staple foods? Cotton? War materials? Supplies for civilians? The standard of living?
6. What was the purpose of the London Economic Conference in 1933? Why did it fail?
7. What is the illusion of national possession?
8. What are the reciprocal trade agreements promulgated by Secretary of State Hull? Why are they considered by

experts on international relations to be an important step in reducing the danger of a world war?

9. Show some of the underlying causes that drew the United States into the World War. Would these be likely to occur again?
10. Read Senator Norris's speech opposing America's entrance into the World War and outline his arguments. This was printed in the *Congressional Record*, Vol. 55, pp. 212 ff., and is reprinted in *Readings in European International Relations Since 1879* by W. H. Cooke and E. P. Stickney, pp. 511-516.
11. What is the latest neutrality legislation in the United States? Will it probably be sufficient to keep us out of another war?
12. Appoint a committee, or have the entire class make a study of the latest findings as to the possible productivity per acre of various crops. Consult the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* for recent articles on the subject of agrobiology. Review *Nations Can Live at Home* by O. W. Willcox.
13. Display and study the set of twelve posters published by the Foreign Policy Association, 8 W. 40 St., New York City. (Price fifty cents for the complete set.)

READINGS

Angell, Sir Norman, *Peace and the Plain Man; Raw Materials, Population Pressure, and War; The Unseen Assassins*.

Beard, Charles A., *The Devil Theory of War*. Brief, easy, and important.

Cooke, W. Henry, and Stickney, Edith P., *Readings in European International Relations Since 1879*. See pp. 511-516, the speech by Senator Norris opposing America's entrance into the World War.

Elliott, Mabel, and others, *Our Dynamic Society*. Chapter XXVII.

Henkin, Ascher, *Must We Have War?*

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CHAPTER XXV

EMERGING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

What inventions introduced the era of international organization?

Is the permanence of the League of Nations assured?

How does the United States co-operate with the League?

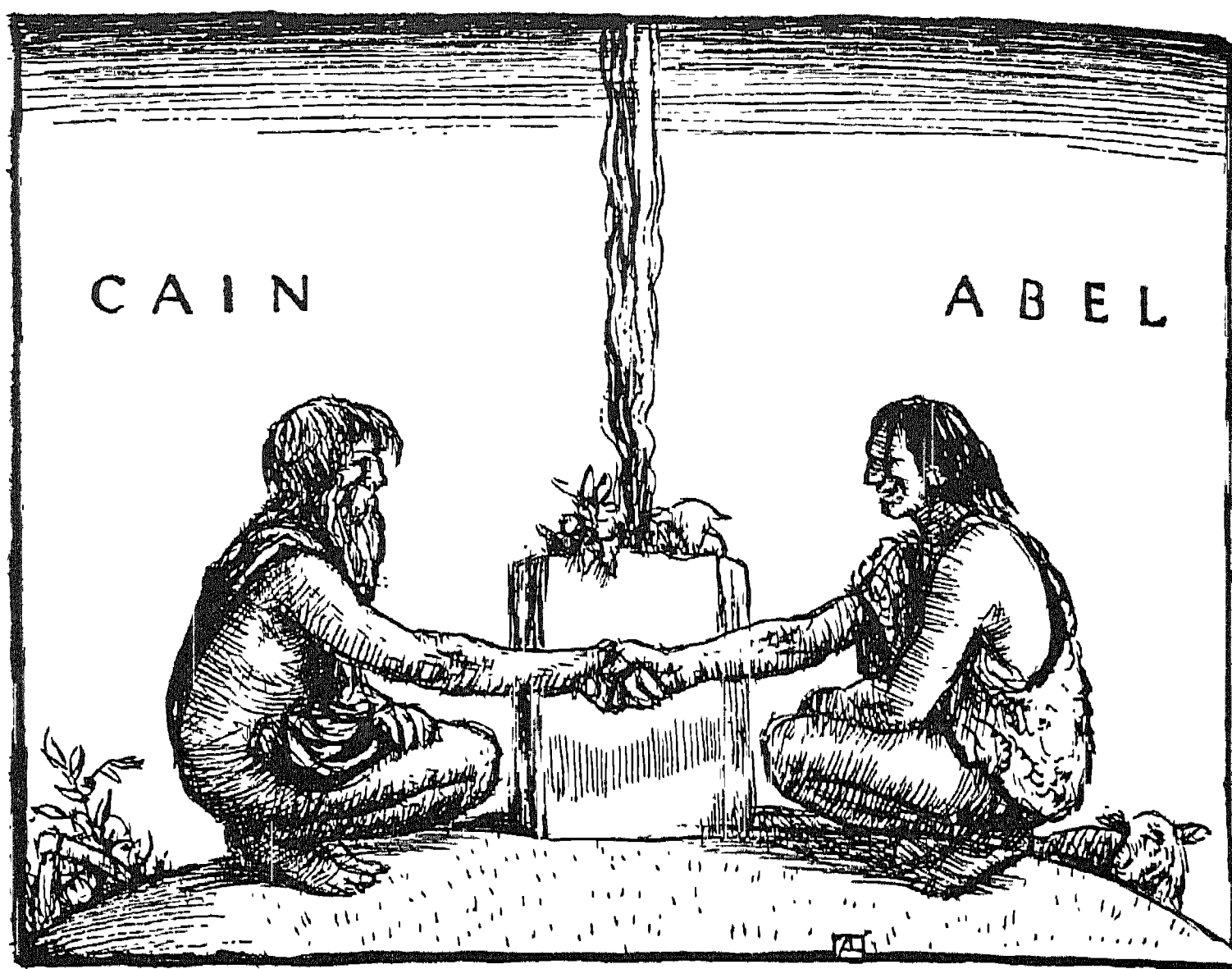
Will the United States ever join the World Court?

What great need called into being the International Labor Organization?

FAREWELL, good Sirs, I am leaving for the future. I will wait for Humanity at the crossroads, three hundred years hence. LUIGI LUCATELL

SINCE the appearance of the national state, there has been a powerful tradition that the state must be completely independent of any other. Its authority must not be limited in the slightest degree by that of any other state. To consult or compromise with other states was thought to be a sign of weakness. A sovereign state should determine its policies in isolation. This tradition, to some extent, still persists.

Society Becomes International. The era of international organization began about the middle of the nineteenth century. It was made possible — and necessary — by the revolutionary changes in transportation and communication. The steamship, the railway, the telegraph, and the cable were bringing into close contact peoples whose lives had previously never touched. The international exchange of goods and of ideas was prodigiously increased. The peoples of the world began to be aware of common needs and of a growing interdependence.



“THOU SHALT NOT HATE THY BROTHER IN THINE HEART” — THE FRUITS OF CIVILIZATION MUST BE SHARED BY MEN IF THEY WISH TO SURVIVE IN PEACE

Society was becoming international. These changes were accentuated by the invention of the telephone, the airplane, and the radio. National boundaries were crossed and recrossed by an endless stream of travelers, messages, commodities. No nation could continue to live in isolation.

First Steps in International Organization. One of the first attempts at organized international effort was in the field of communication. The International Telegraph Union, established in 1868, has functioned so smoothly and so well that none of its sixty member countries would think of withdrawing. The Universal Postal Union, founded in 1875, brought order into a chaotic situation. Without co-operative action the seventy member governments could never have created an efficient international postal service.

In 1875 was formed the International Union of Weights and Measures, in 1883 an international union for the protection of industrial property, and in 1886 a similar union to protect literary property. As international co-operation proved its value, it was rapidly extended to other fields. Thus in 1890 a union of states was established for the co-operative publication of customs tariffs. Other outstanding organizations include the Pan American Union, established in 1899, the International Institute of Agriculture, founded in Rome in 1905, and the International Institute of Public Health, founded in 1907.

Statesmen recognized the need for international co-operation in more strictly political matters. In 1899 the first world-wide peace conference assembled at The Hague. It created the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which has successfully disposed of twenty cases. A second peace conference met in 1907; when it adjourned plans were made for a third conference in 1915. The significance of these conferences was the general acceptance of the idea that international politics should be dealt with periodically by a gathering of representatives from all governments.

The League of Nations

The Coming of the League of Nations. In the years before the World War it was common for farseeing statesmen both here and abroad to predict that some day there would be a league of nations. On this side of the Atlantic Theodore Roosevelt talked about the necessity for a permanent league of nations as early as 1910. In the weeks just before the World War, Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary, declared that if Europe pulled through the crisis which then existed, it would be the duty of the statesmen of the world to create some

international system by which such crises in the future might be averted.

William Howard Taft was one of the statesmen in the United States who accepted this stirring challenge. In that same year, 1914, he outlined a plan for a league. A year later the League to Enforce Peace was formed at Philadelphia, with Mr. Taft as its president. Throughout the war, prominent American and English leaders continued to advocate the establishment of a league. Thoughtful persons in many countries were attracted to the idea. The fact that the war had broken out at all seemed to prove that international organization had not yet proceeded far enough to meet the needs of the time. Had there existed a method for quickly bringing together in one place the representatives of all the powers concerned, might not the war have been avoided? That was the belief of those who urged the formation of a league of nations.

As the long agony of the war dragged on, people everywhere began to demand that a way should be found to make another world war impossible. Accordingly, President Wilson's detailed plan for a league at once aroused great interest the world over. When the Peace Conference met in 1919, American public opinion seemed to be solidly behind his proposal. The conference accepted the President's plan, and on January 10, 1920, the League of Nations came into being.

Purposes of the League. Regarding the purposes of the League, the Covenant says:

The High Contracting Parties,

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security;

By the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war;

By the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations;

By the firm establishment of the understandings of inter-

national law as the actual rule of conduct among governments;

By the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another;

Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

The League Assembly. Every year in September there gathers at Geneva the Assembly of the League of Nations. Each member state has one vote in the Assembly and may send not over three delegates. In recent years the governments have been sending as delegates their leading diplomats and even their ministers of foreign affairs. It is generally agreed that if nothing else were accomplished at these gatherings they would be worthwhile because of the personal contacts thus afforded between statesmen from all parts of the world.

The Assembly lays down the program of work to be undertaken by the League, initiates the exploration of questions in regard to which co-operative action may be needed, and acts as a valuable sounding board for international opinion. It has power to deal with any matter affecting the peace of the world. It must give final approval to any action undertaken by other agencies of the League. As most of its decisions require unanimous consent it is really a conference and not a legislature.

The League Council. The Council, charged with the execution of the decisions of the Assembly, and with the general guidance of the League, meets at least three times a year. It has fourteen members, including four permanent members — France, Great Britain, Italy, and Soviet Russia — and ten others chosen by the Assembly for three-year terms. Any member of the League is entitled to be represented on the Council when any matter specially affecting its interests is under consideration. In fact nonmember nations are sometimes invited to send a representative to the Council. When the

Manchurian situation was being considered, the United States accepted an invitation to be represented at the Council table.

Among the tasks that have occupied the Council are:

1. The financing of countries in central Europe to avoid their economic collapse.
2. The study of tariffs; the promotion of very numerous commercial treaties.
3. The oversight of international communication and transportation, passports, road and mountain traffic, and air navigation. The Council has, for example, sent experts to advise Poland on road building and China on rivers and roads.
4. The study of public works to relieve unemployment.
5. The supervision of a vast organization concerned with public health, especially the suppression of epidemics. To this work the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation has contributed.
6. Efforts to standardize and stimulate education in every corner of the globe.
7. Inquiries into armaments, the welfare of women and children, the white slave traffic, opium, and slavery.
8. The administration of the peace treaties, including the supervision of mandates.

The Secretariat of the League. This is the permanent civil service of the League. It consists of about seven hundred persons, many of them experts in some field of the League's work. The Secretariat furnishes the secretarial staff for the Assembly and the Council and for the numerous conferences and committees which they bring into being. As hardly a week passes without a conference, there is a vast deal of correspondence and planning to be done. Records are kept in two languages. An enormous library of documents on international affairs

has been built up. The Secretariat gathers material on many subjects and issues special studies. It also has a long list of serial publications. A few of these having a large circulation are: the *League of Nations Official Journal*, the *Treaty Series* (in which the treaties of the members are published), the *Armaments Yearbook*, the *Statistical Yearbook*, the *International Health Yearbook*, the *Memorandum on International Trade*, the monthly *Epidemiological Report*, the *Bulletin of Information on the Work of International Organizations*, and the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*.

The United States and the League. The United States failed to join the League largely because of Articles X and XVI of the Covenant. Article X provides that the territorial integrity of all members of the League shall be guaranteed; and Article XVI provides for an economic blockade and then for the joint use of military and naval forces against an aggressor. In few countries is public opinion yet ready to enforce these articles. In practice they have been almost a dead letter. Economic sanctions were tried for the first time in the Italian-Ethiopian conflict. They were ineffective because of the half-hearted co-operation of some League members and the failure to co-operate of states not members of the League. It seems likely that no further attempt will be made to apply Article XVI.

Little by little the United States has extended its co-operation with the League. An official United States delegation has sat with the Assembly's Committee on Social Questions. Our official delegates have sat on several other committees of the Council and the Assembly. Legally this is the same as sitting on the Council or Assembly. In its own interests the United States has found it necessary to work with technical committees of the League, such as the Health Committee and the Permanent Central Opium Board. It has also

worked closely with the Disarmament Commission, for disarmament has always been the ideal of our people.

Altogether about five hundred Americans have sat on League agencies, either officially or unofficially. In 1936 there were twenty Americans working on League agencies, among them Ambassador Norman Davis, member of the Financial Committee. Officially the United States is represented at Geneva by two men. One is our consul at Geneva, and the other is our minister to Switzerland, who gives most of his time to the League. There are now very few phases of the League's work which are not followed by our representatives in Switzerland and by the officials of the State Department. Our co-operation with the League is certain to increase still more in the near future.

What Has the League Accomplished? The League has developed a very effective machinery for international co-operation in noncontroversial fields. There is a vast range of interests which nations hold in common; in dealing with these the League has been so successful that its permanence now seems assured. Its reports, investigations, and activities continue to multiply, and there is almost no limit to its possible development and usefulness in this field.

In dealing with controversial political problems its success has been very uneven. This statement could be made concerning any legislative body, for a legislature is helpless in dealing with any matter on which a majority of its members are not agreed. The League, which can proceed only by the unanimous consent of its members, is correspondingly limited. Altogether the League has faced about three dozen political problems. It has solved or assisted in the solution of about half of these, including several of grave importance. Without the efforts of the League in the Hungarian-Jugoslavian crisis in 1934, following the assassination of King Alexander,

authorities believe that there might have been a serious war.

Why the League Cannot Enforce Peace. All the members of the League are, in theory, pledged to respect the territorial integrity of the other members, and to defend it as well; also, they are pledged to submit their disputes to the Council, the World Court, or to an arbitration tribunal. In case of some incident endangering peace, a nation fearful of attack can appeal to the Council. The Council will then call upon the parties to submit their dispute to the inquiry of a commission named by the Council. The disputants are pledged, furthermore, not to resort to arms until three months after the decision of the commission has been delivered.

Obviously this machinery will prevent war only in case the nations involved in a dispute are willing to respect the authority of the League. In practice most nations are unwilling to surrender their own sovereignty. That is, they insist on their right to decide any controversy in which they themselves are involved.

Were the League to enforce peace, it must be able to apply military sanctions, if necessary, against an aggressor. In other words, its members must place troops and warships at its disposal. While France has always favored military sanctions, most other governments have been opposed to them. In few countries is public opinion ready to co-operate in compelling an aggressor to keep the peace.

In view of these limitations, it seems that the League's most effective work for peace is to remove the causes of war. Today the chief danger of war lies in the aggressive economic policies of the various nations. If the League can gradually bring about an adjustment of the conflicts over raw materials and tariffs, and can help to equalize the standard of living in various parts of the world, it will have gone far to lessen the threat of war.

The Two International Courts

The Hague Tribunal. For generations prophetic minds have been stirred by the idea of an international court to which states might resort for the settlement of their disputes. This idea took form when the first Peace Conference met at The Hague in 1899 and established the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The Permanent Court was more of a plan than an institution. It created a panel of persons from among whom competent arbitrators might be chosen by states wishing to submit a dispute to arbitration. Each of the forty-seven participating states may select four persons to be designated as members of the Court. However, the panel never assembles, and but few of the members are ever called upon to serve. Some twenty disputes have been arbitrated under this plan, nearly all of them before 1914.

The Hague Tribunal is primarily a court of arbitration, not of justice; that is, in solving a dispute it need not necessarily be guided by principles of law, but may resort to compromise.

Long before the World War it was recognized that something more was needed. The American delegation to the second Peace Conference in 1907 was instructed by President Roosevelt to work for the development of "a permanent tribunal composed of judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupation, and who are devoting their entire time to the trial and decision of international cases by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility." Nothing was actually done, however, until after the creation of the League of Nations. Then the League Council appointed a commission to formulate a detailed plan for a world court. An American, Mr. Elihu Root, was perhaps the most influential member of this commission.

The Permanent Court of International Justice. After a whole year of consideration the Statute (constitution) of the Permanent Court of International Justice was formulated, and was adopted by the Assembly. In 1921 the first judges were elected and in 1922 the Court adopted its rules and began its work. It is popularly known as the "World Court." Its fifteen judges meet every February at The Hague, in the beautiful Carnegie Peace Palace. They may also be called together by the Council at any time. So extensive has been the use made of the Court that it has held more extra than regular sessions.

The World Court may hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. Under the so-called "optional clause," forty-one member states have given the Court compulsory jurisdiction (authority) over certain kinds of disputes. These are legal disputes with another state that has signed the optional clause, concerning:

- (a) The interpretation of a treaty;
- (b) Any question of international law;
- (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- (d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

Compulsory arbitration is also conferred on the Court by several hundred treaties. It is becoming a custom with most governments to include in a new treaty a clause giving the Court competence to decide any dispute as to the interpretation or application of the treaty. The existence of these treaties is one of the surest guarantees that the Court will continue.

How the Judges Are Chosen. The members in each national group of the Court of Arbitration may nominate four persons as judges of the World Court. Not over

two of the four nominees may be of the same nationality as the group making the nomination. From the names so nominated, the Assembly and the Council of the League, each by majority vote, elect fifteen judges. The term of office is nine years. Some of the judges are pre-eminent authorities on international law, and the bench as a whole has enjoyed the respect of the legal profession throughout the world.

Advisory Opinions by the World Court. The Court may give an advisory opinion on any question referred to it by the Council or Assembly of the League. No advisory opinion is rendered until all interested states and organizations have had opportunity to be heard. A state having no representative in the Court may select a national judge to sit on the bench when it is a party to a dispute on which an advisory opinion is sought.

Questions on which advisory opinions are sought are often of great moment. When the Council is considering any situation that threatens world peace it may ask the Court for an advisory opinion. Disputing states frequently prefer an advisory opinion because it is less final than a judgment. Some of the most important advisory opinions have related to the nationality decrees in Tunis and Morocco, the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, the jurisdiction of the European Commission of the Danube, and the proposal for an Austro-German Customs Union.

The United States and the World Court. Four American presidents (Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, and Roosevelt) have recommended that the United States should join the World Court. In 1926 the Senate voted adherence to the Court with reservations that were unacceptable to the member states. These reservations were to the effect (1) that membership in the World Court did not involve membership in the League; (2) that the United States should be permitted to pay

its share of the expenses of the Court; (3) that the United States should be permitted to have a voice in the election of judges; and (4) that no amendments to the Statute of the Court should be made without the consent of the United States. The fifth amendment was the one to which the members of the Court did not agree. It read: "The Court shall not render any advisory opinions except publicly after due notice to all interested parties and after public hearing and opportunity for hearing given to any state concerned; nor shall it, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest."

The Stumbling-block. The second half of this reservation was a stumbling-block. It could be used to veto all requests for advisory opinions. Were other member states to make the same reservation, the Court might find it impossible to perform its principal task — the giving of advisory opinions at the request of the Council.

In 1929 a committee of jurists, including Mr. Elihu Root, met to consider changes in the Statute of the Court. Their most important effort was to find a "formula" by which the Senate reservation could be made acceptable. The chief features of this formula (known as the "Root formula") were as follows: The United States shall be notified of any request for an advisory opinion. If the United States should, within a reasonable time, notify the Court of its interest in the case, the Court will postpone action until the Council or Assembly has had an opportunity to hear in detail the American point of view. Should the United States object to the hearing of the case, and should the Council still wish to obtain an advisory opinion, then the United States may withdraw from the Court "without any imputation of unfriendliness, or unwillingness to co-

operate generally for peace and good will." This formula seemed to protect the United States without damaging the Court. However, in 1935 when the Senate again voted on whether to adhere to the Court, the necessary two-thirds majority was not obtained. The American tradition of isolation had again triumphed. Inasmuch as the vote was very close it seems likely that it has merely delayed for a few years our adherence to the Court.

The International Labor Organization

In 1934 the United States formally adhered to the International Labor Organization. This body was created under the Versailles Treaty, and now has sixty-two member nations, comprising ninety-eight per cent of the population of the earth.

Objectives. The objectives of the International Labor Organization are:

1. The collection and interpretation of data relating directly or indirectly to labor problems throughout the world. It has the largest and best equipped research staff ever set up for this purpose.
2. The promotion of labor legislation, with a view to getting the countries of the world to adopt common minimum standards for labor.
3. The improvement of relationships between employers and employees in the furtherance of industrial peace.
4. The study of world-wide unemployment and the application of such reconstructive measures as have demonstrated their usefulness.
5. Through all these means to strengthen the bases of peace among the nations. "Universal peace can be established only if it is based on social justice."

How the International Labor Organization Functions. The chief organ of the I.L.O. is the International Labor

Conference which meets annually. Each member state is entitled to send four delegates. Two of these are the so-called government delegates who are freely chosen by the government. One is a so-called employers' delegate, chosen by the government in consultation with its most representative organization of employers, and one is a so-called workers' delegate, chosen by the government in consultation with its most representative organization of workers.

The International Labor Conference adopts draft conventions, i.e., recommendations, which do not bind any state but which each state has agreed to place before its competent authorities "for the enactment of legislation or other action" as they may decide. Each of the draft conventions of the Conference has been ratified by some of the member states, thus becoming a treaty or convention. When a state ratifies one of these treaties it is expected to proceed with applying it within its borders. Each member of the Organization has agreed to make an annual report on the measures taken to give effect to conventions which it has ratified.

Of the 62 members of the International Labor Organization, 26 are bound by a convention not to employ children under fourteen in any sort of industrial work; 21 have agreed to a maximum eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week; and 23 have agreed to require a weekly rest day of twenty-four hours. Sixteen have agreed to general establishment by the government of minimum wage rates; 30 have agreed to ban industrial night work for women and 30 have agreed to ban such work for children; 28 have agreed to compensate workmen for industrial diseases and 16 to provide compensation for industrial accidents. There are now 33 such treaties ratified by large blocks of industrial countries.

Current developments which affect employment, social insurance, the health and the leisure of workers are

studied by experts in the permanent International Labor Office. Then they are discussed by committees of the Conference. If a committee recommends that a draft convention be adopted by the Conference, there follows a lengthy debate on the Conference floor. Thus the delegates are made familiar with labor problems throughout the world, and with the various efforts being made to deal with them. The I.L.O. is a new force for unity in the economic affairs of nations. The result should be a gradual acceptance of minimum labor standards, and the resulting improvement of the condition of workers everywhere. By raising labor standards in countries where these are much below the average, one of the most popular arguments for protective tariffs will be overcome. It is hoped that escape may thus be afforded from the more extreme barriers to world trade. However, progress in this direction is bound to be slow. If a general war intervenes, the goal will retreat still farther into the distance.

Summary. The economic revolution which has made the world a single neighborhood has forced the creation of international institutions. In the short space of seventy-five years astonishing progress has been made. In one field after another states have submitted to international regulation. The tradition that a state is completely sovereign, and that its dignity would suffer should it consult and compromise with other states, is fast being modified.

Not a little progress has been made in removing the causes of war, but the wish that by international organization peace may be enforced remains only a wish. Most nations are not yet ready to implement any organization with the power forcibly to restrain an aggressor. Yet in view of the notable advance in international cooperation since the World War, it is evident that a new public opinion is developing. It would be a rash prophet

who would set any limit to this development. The fear of another world war is driving the nations toward greater co-operation. Will the necessary organization emerge in time to prevent another holocaust? That is the most momentous question that confronts the world.

WORD STUDY

convention

draft convention

optional clause

sovereignty

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What inventions made international organization necessary?
2. Name several of the oldest international organizations.
3. What was the principal contribution of the first conference at The Hague?
4. Of what general significance were the two conferences at The Hague?
5. Wherein does the Assembly of the League differ from a legislature? What are its principal functions?
6. Describe the League Council. What provision safeguards the interests of members not represented on the Council?
7. Why cannot the League enforce Article X?
8. When were economic sanctions first tried? Why did they prove ineffectual?
9. How has the United States co-operated with the League?
10. What is the Secretariat of the League?
11. In what fields is the League certain to continue?
12. How are the members of the World Court selected?
13. What is the "optional clause"? How many governments have accepted it?
14. Differentiate between the Hague Tribunal and the World Court.
15. What are the objectives of the International Labor Organization?
16. Are the draft conventions adopted by the International Labor Office binding upon the members? By what steps do they attain practical application?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Is it correct to say that the League has failed in handling controversial political problems? Explain.
2. Report on the League's control of the opium traffic.
3. Report on why Soviet Russia joined the League in 1934.
4. Find out why Brazil, Germany, and Japan withdrew from the League.
5. Why did the United States not join the League?
6. Open Forum: Resolved: that the United States should join the League of Nations.
7. Open Forum: Resolved: that the United States should adhere to the World Court.
8. How may the International Labor Office contribute to world peace?
9. Do you foresee an ever-increasing degree of international organization or a tendency for nations to become increasingly self-sufficient?

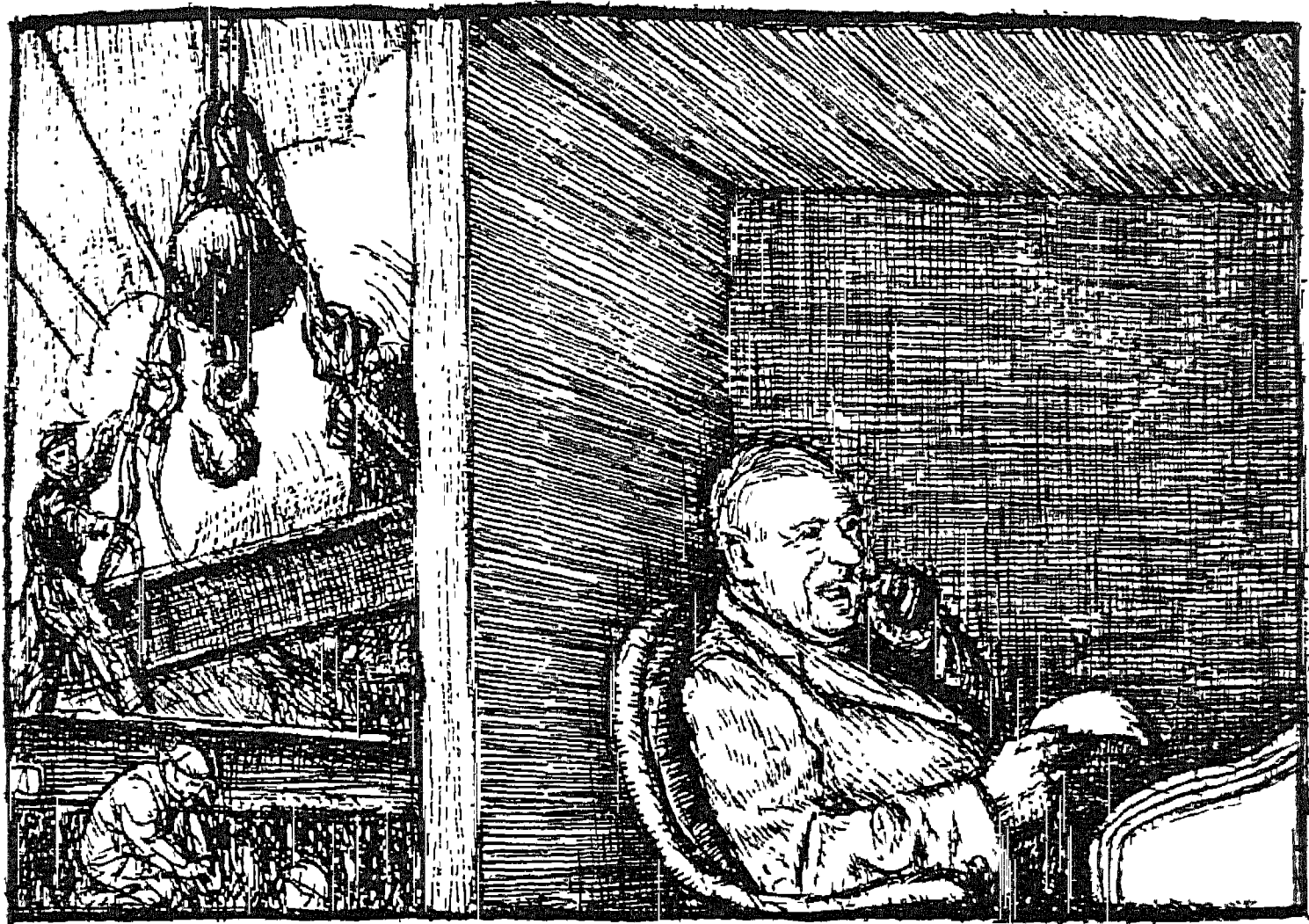
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UNIT X



ECONOMIC INDIVIDUALISM WAXES AND WANES

CHAPTER XXVI. SOCIETY EXAMINES THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM. Nature of modern capitalism. Theory of free competition and how it arose. Arguments for capitalism. Charges made against capitalism.

CHAPTER XXVII. THE TREND TOWARD COLLECTIVISM. Types of collectivism: state socialism in the Soviet Union; fascism in Italy and Germany; democratic collectivism in Scandinavia; attempts to regulate business throughout the New World. Spread of semipublic business: enterprises conducted by voluntary associations; co-operative associations.

CHAPTER XXVI

SOCIETY EXAMINES THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM

How does capitalism differ from other economic systems?

Is it still true that anyone can become a capitalist?

*How many individuals control the two hundred corporations
owning half the corporate wealth of the United States?*

What are the undeniable advantages of capitalism?

*What faults of capitalism must be corrected if the system is to
survive?*

IF THE GAIN-SEEKING MOTIVE is to be exalted to the highest place, then morals disappear and life becomes a struggle for the survival of the most unfit.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

IN RECENT YEARS, for the first time in human history, a considerable number of people are critically examining the institutions under which they live. They have ceased to regard their institutions as a sacred heritage from revered ancestors. They believe that institutions must be made over as material conditions change, and they would hasten this process. Some of these critics want to change the family or the church or the school. Others want to revise our economic institutions.

The existence of numerous critics of our economic system does not prove that it is at fault. Some of these critics are unhappy people, frustrated and inadequate, who may not see clearly the causes of their own failure; their outbursts against capitalism may be emotional and not rational. But some critics are learned men who have devoted their lives to the study of social problems; other critics are successful men of affairs, who want to

correct what they consider to be the faults of the capitalistic system.

Many Americans are committed to the gradual reform of the system. They believe that, in overcoming its weaknesses, its advantages need not be sacrificed.

The Nature of Modern Capitalism

What Is Capitalism? The word "capitalism" is used loosely and emotionally. Like "democracy," "liberty," "justice," it is a stereotype to which we react with feeling. There is a great deal of popular confusion as to what the word really means.

Capitalism is not the mere accumulation of capital (income-producing property), since that is possible under any system. Nor is it technology or mass production. Moreover, it is not simply the private ownership of capital. *Capitalism is the control of industry by capitalists (those who contribute the capital) or their representatives.* Because the vast majority of enterprises have been organized by capitalists and are controlled by them, we speak of our economic system as *capitalism*.

Under *fascism* the policies of industry are strictly controlled by the state, although the capitalists retain ownership of their property and are allowed to make profits. Under *socialism* all major industries would be owned by the state and production would be for use rather than for profit. *Communism* resembles socialism, but the goal would be sought by force rather than by democratic processes. Under the *co-operative system* the control of enterprise is in the hands either of the workers or the patrons; absentee ownership is eliminated; the profits, if any, belong to the co-operators.

Modern capitalism is characterized by vast aggregations of capital directed by a very small number of men. It may be described as "the economic system under which production, distribution, and finance are becom-

ing concentrated into large-scale interrelated units, which are, on the whole, organized into corporations, privately owned, and controlled by a minority who run them for private profit.”¹

The Theory of Free Competition (Laissez-faire). The defenders of the capitalistic system have developed the theory of free competition, also known as *laissez-faire*, from the French phrase “let alone.” The argument runs as follows:

When each individual pursues his own pecuniary interest, the greatest social good will be achieved. If men are free to spend their money as they choose, they will purchase those things that give them the greatest satisfaction. Consequently, the very commodities most desired by consumers are the most profitable for businessmen to produce. Likewise, if men are free to use such methods of production as they wish, they will select those which are least costly and most efficient. If workers are free to work for any employer they wish, they will refuse work which is harder or more dangerous than the average unless it carries a higher wage.

Free competition, operating through fluctuating prices is, it is said, an automatic regulator of economic activities. It is a sufficient restraint on human selfishness and a sufficient guarantee that the interests of the community will be served. Thus, a producer will be deterred from furnishing adulterated, short-weight, or poorly made goods, and from charging too high a price, for fear of losing his customers; and an employer will be deterred from exploiting his workers for fear they will go to another employer offering better conditions.

According to this theory, government should interfere as little as possible with business. It should confine itself to the enforcement of contracts, the prevention of

¹ Jerome Davis, *Capitalism and Its Culture* (Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1935), p. 21.

fraud, and the protection of property. This doctrine is believed by a great many people, and it has always had a most powerful influence on our government.

How the Doctrine of Laissez-faire Arose. Free competition was unknown until modern times. During the Middle Ages the individual had no economic freedom. In the villages everything was rigidly controlled by custom; in the towns the guilds regulated every detail of production, wages, and prices. After the Middle Ages individual enterprise became common. But in attempting to promote foreign trade and to increase the profits of their manufacturers, bankers, and shippers, governments imposed many restrictions upon free trade. This was the policy of mercantilism. These restrictions did more harm than good, and businessmen became dissatisfied with so much interference. They urgently needed greater freedom.

In 1776 Adam Smith published an epoch-making book, *The Wealth of Nations*. It did more than anything else to discredit mercantilism and to establish the policy of *laissez-faire*. Smith worked out at great length the theory of free competition. He was drawing up an economic plan — that government should let business alone. While his theory became very popular, his plan was never fully tried.

Contrary to the advice of Adam Smith, we have never been willing to stop seeking favors from the government. We have, for instance, often sought government aid in obstructing the organization of employees. We have demanded tariffs, subsidies, and various costly services from the government. On the other hand, we have used the arguments of Adam Smith in attempting to dissuade government from regulating the pursuit of gain. We have bitterly fought legislation designed to restrict monopolistic combination in restraint of trade. Thus *laissez-faire* has been invoked in the effort to keep

government from interfering in behalf of the employee or consumer, but has been ignored whenever a business desired some favor from the government.

The Decline of Small Business. When the doctrine of free competition was invented, big business did not exist. The Industrial Revolution had hardly got under way. Handicrafts flourished. The craftsman was capitalist, worker, and merchant all in one. Although factories were being set up, these were small. Little capital was required to go into business. In the New World almost any able and courageous man could look forward to becoming an enterpriser, either on a farm or in a little store or factory. At this period Adam Smith's plan was thoroughly sound — free competition or *laissez-faire* would promote the "wealth of nations."

Today the situation is altogether changed. The proportion of enterprisers in the total population has steadily declined. Not over one tenth of the gainfully employed in the United States are self-employed. (The self-employed consist mostly of enterprisers, that is, businessmen. Artists, writers, private physicians, lawyers, and other professional men who work for fees are also counted among the self-employed.) Of these nearly seventy per cent are farmers, most of them without hired labor. The next largest group are merchants, of whom there are about 1,700,000. Many of the self-employed operate lunchrooms, shoe-repair shops, dry-cleaning shops, beauty parlors, barber shops, filling stations, junkyards, and the like. Enterprisers of this type may possibly increase, but hardly enough to offset the decline to be expected among farmers, merchants, and factory owners.

Thousands of little factories — canneries, creameries, bakeries, machine shops, clothing lofts, laundries, textile mills, shoe factories, knitting mills, etc. — still exist. But increasingly they are passing under centralized con-

trol. A single concern may buy and operate a large number of scattered units. Those little factories that are still independently operated have, as a rule, a precarious existence. Their percentage of profit is apt to be far less than prevails in larger units.

The Rise of Big Business. Competition is costly and wasteful. Businessmen have always tried to avoid it. Sometimes they have driven out their competitors ruthlessly, as when a great oil company hired men to dynamite the property of its rivals. "In a realistic view of the old capitalism," says Walter Lippmann, "it is not far from the truth to say that free competition existed insofar as men were unable to abolish it."

After the Civil War the trend toward business consolidation became marked. Large-scale businesses enjoyed so many advantages — both financial and political — that small businesses had increasingly hard going. Disturbed by the tremendous power of the giant combinations, Congress in 1890 passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. This was intended to break up the trusts and enforce competition between their dismembered parts. In practice the Sherman Act merely led to the abandonment of the trust form and the development of new devices, such as the holding company, by which centralized control was easier than ever. Perhaps no legislation could have checked the irresistible trend toward consolidation.

Today practically all the major industries have combined into a few large units. A single corporation may operate ten thousand stores or several hundred theaters, banks, factories, or restaurants. Such a giant aggregation often is able to dictate policies and practices to the entire industry. If it has sizable competitors, it seeks an informal understanding with them by which all shall pursue identical policies toward government, labor, and the consumer.

Said Colonel William J. Donovan, formerly Assistant to the Attorney General:

The earlier combinations were directed more against the competitor. Attempts were made to secure all the plants in the industry, whatever their condition or character, and in that way to limit competition. Today in mergers and combinations, selection of plants is made with regard to strategic location and efficiency of operation. Today there is more of a spirit of co-operation, and it is sought by agreement to stabilize prices and to allot territory and consumers. So that in the present era of consolidation the consumer has more to fear than has the competitor. The earlier combinations dealt with the basic supplies of industry — raw materials, heavy manufacturing. Present-day combinations for the most part deal with the immediate necessities of life.

Concentration of Control in American Industry. Concentration of control is now evident in nearly every industry. Even in agriculture, the industry most favorable to the small proprietor, thirty-nine per cent of our total farm acreage is found in 3.9 per cent of the farms. The situation in a few representative industries in the United States is as follows:

Mining:

Anthracite coal — $\frac{4}{5}$ of the recoverable tonnage is controlled by 8 companies affiliated with the railroads.

Iron ore — the United States Steel Corporation controls from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of the iron ore reserve and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the industry's steel-making capacity.

Copper — 4 companies control nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the copper reserves.

Lead and zinc — a few large companies dominate the field.

Nickel — the International Nickel Company owns 90 per cent of the known nickel resources of the world.

Aluminum — the Aluminum Company of America has a practical monopoly of domestic aluminum, both of the good ores and of their refining.

Sulphur — 2 companies control most of the world's supply.

Oil: 5 corporations produce 35 per cent of the total production.

Communications:

Telephone — the Bell system controls $\frac{4}{5}$ of the telephone service.

Telegraph — Western Union controls $\frac{3}{4}$ of the telegraph service.

Radio — the Radio Corporation of America dominates the field.

Cable — 2 companies control most of the cables.

Manufacturing:

Automobiles — General Motors and Ford Motor Company sell $\frac{3}{4}$ of all motor cars.

Meat packing — 2 companies control 50 per cent of the meat entering interstate commerce.

Sugar — the American Sugar Refining Company and its affiliates do most of the sugar refining.

Bread — 4 corporations supply $\frac{1}{4}$ of the nation's bread.

Tobacco — 3 corporations control 70 per cent of the cigarette trade.

Financing:

Banking — one per cent of the banks have resources equal to those of the other 99 per cent.

Public utilities — in 1930, 10 groups of holding companies controlled 72 per cent of the electric business and 16 groups controlled 42 per cent of the gas business. Four groups controlled the majority of electric power.

Merchandising: over 20 per cent of all retail sales are made by chain stores.

Railroads: 14 railroad systems operate 82 per cent of all the railroad mileage.

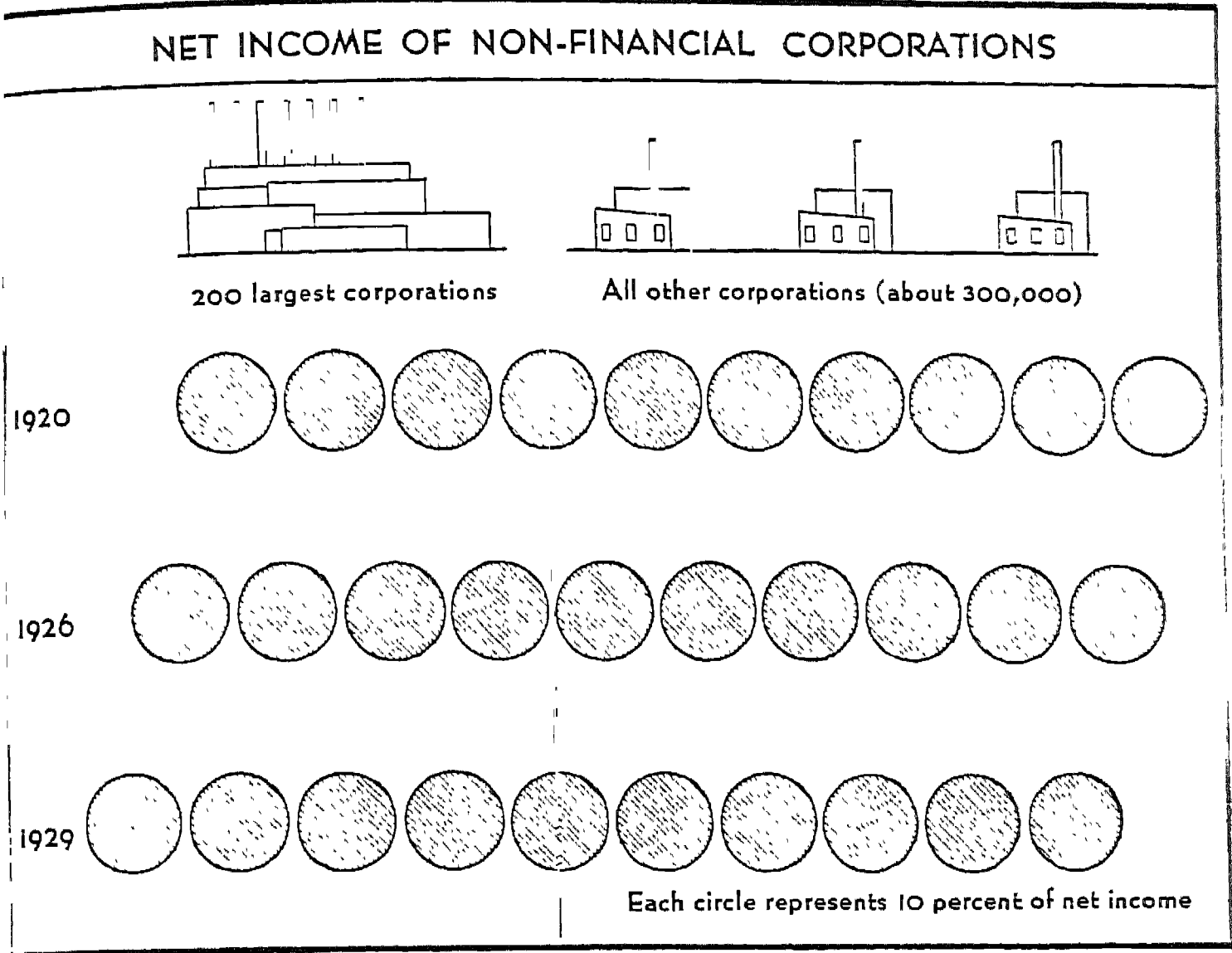
The Trend toward Rigid Prices. The prices of a great many commodities are fixed by monopolies or combinations of businessmen. For instance, the price of steel and iron is determined by the company which dominates

this field. Steel and iron sell for practically the same price year in and year out. This tends to hold up the price of all commodities made of steel and iron.

In those industries not dominated by one or a few great companies, prices are frequently kept steady by trade associations. These associations have been very active in the last few years. At their meetings all the enterprisers of an industry get together and talk over their common problems. It is, however, illegal for the members of a trade association to make an agreement to restrict output and maintain prices. Theoretically, they must not combine "in restraint of trade" — that is, they must not interfere with free competition.

When prices do not fluctuate much, it is evident that free competition is not being allowed to operate. Prices are most rigid for railroad fares, freight, public utilities, steel and iron, motor vehicles, sewing machines, electrical equipment, aluminum, building supplies, furniture, and office equipment. The most flexible prices are for farm products and clothing; here, free competition still prevails.

During a depression the buying power of the masses is cut. This lessens the effective demand for commodities. On a free market, prices would drop until consumers could again buy freely. This would soon set the wheels of industry turning again — at least, this is the argument of those who advocate free competition. During the depression that began in 1929 the prices of many commodities dropped very little; instead, their production was curtailed. This tended to make the depression still worse by increasing the number of unemployed and thus still further reducing purchasing power. The vicious spiral was broken in 1933 when millions of people were given work relief by the federal government and once again resumed buying. The new economic agencies of the government — CWA, PWA, WPA, AAA, etc. —



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The Two Hundred Largest Corporations Receive an Ever Greater Share of the Total Corporate Income. A Great Number of the Small Corporations Operate at a Loss

were made necessary because of the change from a free market to a system of controlled prices. These various agencies helped to put money into the hands of the farmers and the unemployed and the result was a considerable improvement in business.

The following table is highly significant. It reveals what happens during a depression to commodities sold on a free market and what happens to those whose price is controlled. Notice that farm products suffered the most drastic price decline, but that their production fell off only a little. On the other hand, the prices of manufactured products such as machinery, automobiles, cement, iron, and steel dropped little, but their production was greatly curtailed.

*Decline in Prices and Production from 1929 to 1933*¹

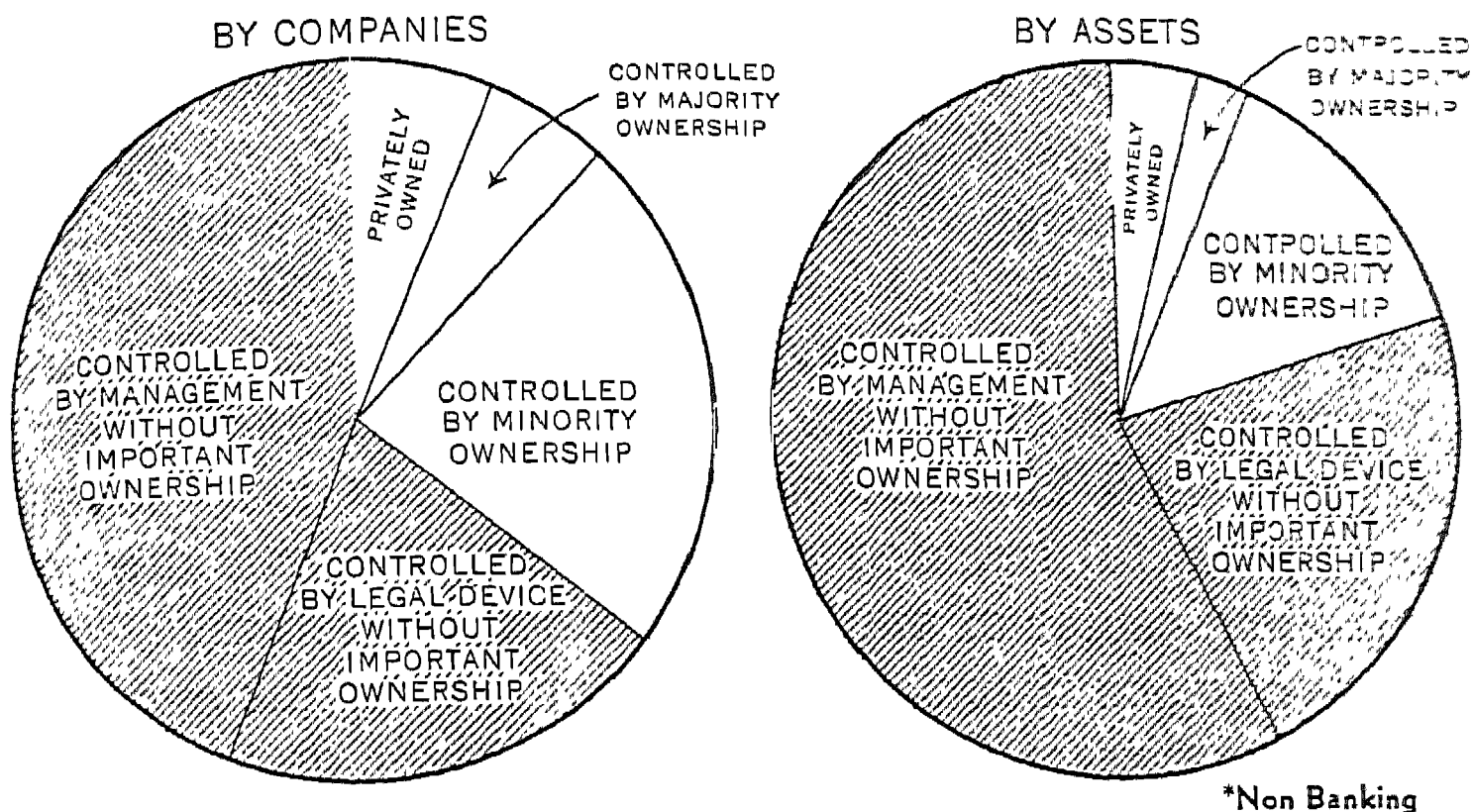
	Per cent drop in prices	Per cent drop in production
Agricultural implements	6	80
Motor vehicles	16	80
Cement	18	65
Iron and steel products	20	83
Tires	33	70
Textiles	45	30
Food products	49	14
Leather	50	20
Petroleum	56	20
Agricultural commodities	63	6

Two Hundred Giant Corporations. According to a very careful study, the 200 largest business corporations (excluding banks, insurance companies, and other financial corporations) had on January 1, 1930, 49.2 per cent of the corporate wealth of the United States. These 200 corporations are only one per cent of the total number of corporations. They have been growing two or three times as rapidly as the smaller ones.

Although these 200 corporations together have millions of stockholders, they are actually controlled by approximately 2,000 individuals. Small stockholders scattered far and wide are unable to attend stockholders' meetings. If they vote at all, they do so by proxy — that is, they mail to one of the officials of the corporation a paper authorizing him to vote for them. Thus the officials may keep themselves in office indefinitely, often voting themselves enormous salaries and bonuses, and using their inside information to make money by speculating in their own company's securities. Of the 200 largest corporations, only ten are controlled by the owners of a majority of the outstanding

¹ Gardner C. Means, *Industrial Prices and Their Relative Inflexibility*. Senate Document 13, 74th Congress.

HOW THE 200 LARGEST CORPORATIONS* IN THE UNITED STATES ARE CONTROLLED
(Total Assets \$81,000,000,000. Half of all Corporate* Wealth in the U. S.)



From the New York Times, by permission.

The Ownership of Wealth Has, in the Typical Large Corporation, Been Divorced from Control

stock. All the rest are controlled by small groups of minority stockholders, by legal devices, or by the salaried executives themselves.¹ Adam Smith never dreamed of a time when ownership and management would be divorced, when owners might have no responsibility whatsoever for the conduct of the business in whose profits they share. But this is the situation of the majority of security holders today.

Interlocking Directorates. It should not be thought that each of these 200 giant corporations is independent of all others. The directors of one corporation often serve on the boards of numerous others. This system of interlocking directorates helps to bring the policies of each big business into harmony with the rest.

Forty-three of the largest business corporations — those with assets of over \$500,000,000 each — have 298 directorships. Twelve large banking houses and

¹ All figures concerning the 200 largest corporations are taken from *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, by A. A. Berle and G. C. Means.

three large insurance companies have 117 directorships. These 415 positions were held at the end of 1931 by 166 individuals. These 166 men were legally responsible for assets of \$46,000,000,000 — over a fifth of all the business wealth of the United States. The Chase National Bank alone had 54 votes on the boards of 27 of these corporations; J. P. Morgan and Company had 26 directors on 13 of the boards; the Bankers' Trust Company had 29 directors on 18 boards, and so on. These powerful banking and business concerns are the controlling center of our entire economic system.

It is obvious that the directors of such giant corporations have extraordinary power. On their decisions depends the welfare of millions of employees and millions of consumers. Directly or indirectly, their decisions affect every business in the country, not omitting the smallest crossroads store or the littlest farm. If they believe that industrial output should be restricted in order to keep prices at a high level, they prevent millions from enjoying a higher standard of living. On the other hand, if they fix low prices they may drive their less efficient competitors out of business. If they put obstacles in the way of foreign countries anxious to obtain essential raw materials on favorable terms, they jeopardize the peace of the world. On the other hand, if they should favor low tariffs and freer international trade, they might make necessary the abandonment of numerous protected domestic industries. If they oppose the organization of employees, they determine, in effect, that the share of employees in the national income shall not be increased. These men would not deliberately hurt anyone else; but they are bound to be guided by their own interests, which may not be the same as the interests of the people as a whole.

The influence of these business leaders on government could hardly be overstated. They have long dominated

the councils of both major political parties. Some are Republicans, some Democrats, and some give generous contributions to both parties. They have great prestige and their opinions carry weight with legislators, judges, administrative officials, and with the public. Legislation to which they are opposed has often no chance of passage; in the event that it does pass it is not likely to be left long on the statute books or to be vigorously enforced. Moreover, these men can command all the resources of publicity. If they tell us that some proposed measure is a bad thing, most of us accept their judgment.

The Defense of Capitalism

By capitalism we mean the control of industry by the capitalists. If free competition still existed throughout our economic structure, perhaps it would not matter who controlled the separate enterprises — whether capitalists, wage earners, consumers, or government. Under free competition, say the followers of Adam Smith, whoever is in control of a business must have due regard for the interests of others. Competition for buyers would lead each enterpriser to sell honest goods at reasonable prices; competition for labor and for capital would compel just treatment of workers and investors. The natural fluctuations of prices would sufficiently regulate all sorts of economic activities. Since free competition does not exist and never has existed except in limited areas, we do not know whether this attractive theory is correct. In the twentieth century, when the whole economic structure is dominated by comparatively few giant corporations, it is idle to talk of free competition and *laissez-faire*.

Shall society leave the control of industry in the hands of the capitalists? With that question the twentieth century opened. As the mid-century approaches, it is

being asked with ever greater insistence. Let us look briefly at the principal arguments given by those who answer "Yes."

1. The capitalist system prevails in almost every country. People are used to it. Any far-reaching change would certainly lead to a period of confusion, and perhaps of breakdown.
2. It has high productive capacity, because it encourages large accumulations of capital which are necessary for mass production. For instance, a farmer with a total of $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours labor can produce by the aid of modern machinery enough wheat to feed a man for an entire year. Twenty per cent of our labor force can produce the basic needs of food, shelter, and clothing for our entire people, leaving the others free to make comforts and luxuries and all the things needed for leading a highly cultured life.
3. The material benefits to the masses are greater than in any other system now operating. Neither fascism nor communism has yet produced anything like so high a standard of living as has capitalism. While the showing made by the co-operative movement in Scandinavia is impressive, in these countries the capitalistic system still predominates.
4. The individual has freedom of enterprise. He can enter any economic pursuit that appeals to him. If he lacks capital he can either save it or borrow it or find a partner with money. Under any other economic system the number and kind of new enterprises would be regulated. A planning board might even determine how many students should be permitted to enter each professional school. Indeed, once economic planning has been established, who knows how many restrictions it eventually might impose? Fascism has already placed restrictions on

the education and employment of women and of racial minorities. Is not the individual's economic liberty, ask many Americans, worth preserving at any cost?

5. Human nature, it is said, responds more easily to the lure of selfish gain than to any other inducement. Capitalism makes use of human nature as it is. Would people work well, make inventions, or establish new enterprises if they did not hope for their own pecuniary profit?
6. Under capitalism the best man wins. Financial success and honor are given to those who are most gifted in supplying what society wants. These gifted individuals are rewarded by profits. Competition sifts out the more competent from the less competent. Those who are not successful in making a living, and those who are not interested in business, should not be envious of those who are.
7. Capitalism is democratic. The votes (purchases) of consumers select the best product and reward its producer. Even when a monopoly exists, the consumer can substitute some other product. People can buy agateware instead of aluminum, can burn oil instead of coal, can ride on railroads and busses if monopoly sets too high a price on automobiles. These decisions by consumers do influence the policies of even the largest corporation.
8. Capitalism considers the wishes of consumers more than would any other system. Producers adjust the quantity, quality, or price of commodities if the consumers so vote. Under any type of planned economic system the consumers' preferences might not carry so much weight. If the workers dominated the government, they might prohibit any manufacturing process that involves unusual risk to the workmen. Under fascism the government might

concentrate on producing armaments instead of consumption goods. In Soviet Russia the government has spent most of the nation's income on heavy industry, at one period leaving the retail stores almost bare of goods for several years.

9. The inequality of wealth which accompanies capitalism makes philanthropy possible. We have only to think of the projects financed by such men as Andrew Carnegie, George Eastman, the John D. Rockefellers, Julius Rosenwald, and Russell Sage to realize how greatly philanthropy has contributed to cultural advance.
10. The real income of the masses in the United States has risen about one per cent a year for the last century. No previous century in the world's history has known such an advance.
11. Capitalists have accepted a good deal of governmental regulation. Numerous reforms have been brought about, including truthful labels on foods and drugs, honest weights and measures, sanitary inspection of factories, lunchrooms, and dairies, compensation for industrial accidents, unemployment benefits, and many others. This suggests that further reforms can be achieved within the capitalistic system.
12. The capitalists may themselves bring about the needed adjustments of the capitalist system. Said Mr. Alfred P. Sloan, president of General Motors, in 1932:

The problem gets down to one of purchasing power. This has been recognized by farsighted industry. The movement for lower wages is not one in which the larger manufacturers have taken the initiative. And the plain reason is that unless wages be high — although the cost of production must be low — there will not be enough purchasing power created to move the finished products. . . . That industry must evolve and

make effective those measures which will first ameliorate and ultimately eliminate these conditions [unemployment, industrial breakdown, etc.] must be the reaction of everyone who gives thought to what is taking place. I say that industry must do this thing, because it will surely be done. . . . Shall we wait for society to act through its legislatures, or shall industry recognize its obligations to its employees and to the public and undertake the task?

Mr. Edward A. Filene, late owner of a great department store in Boston, was keenly aware that adjustments have become necessary. He wrote:

Business *is* the government of the modern world. It may refuse for a while to function as such. It may refuse to accept its social responsibilities, and may continue to look to Washington or to God to do the things which only social planning on the part of business management can do. . . .

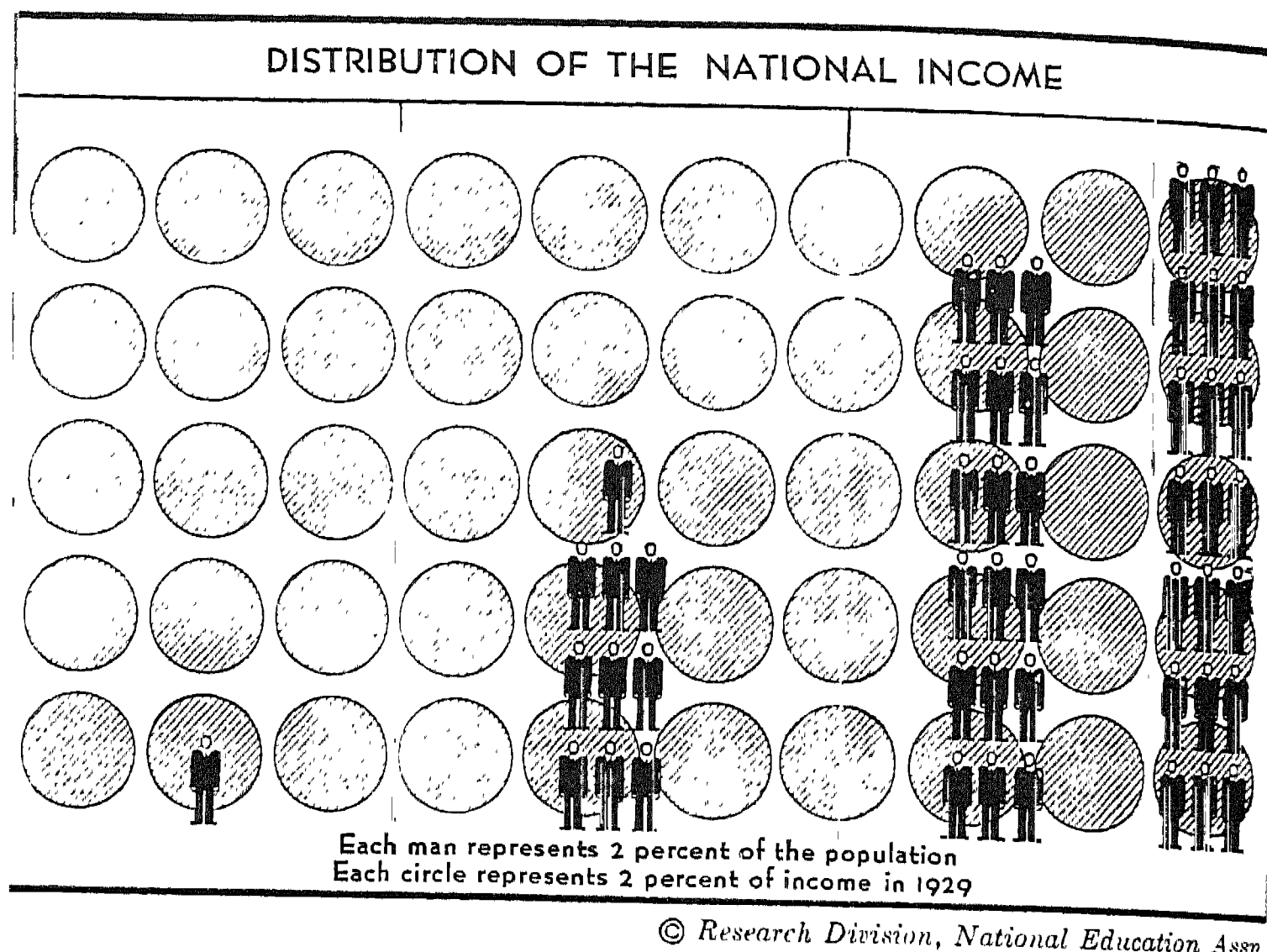
Business *can* serve the masses. It can *employ* the masses and, if it understands the nature of the new social setup, it can *sell to the masses all that it employs the masses to create*.¹

Charges Made against Capitalism

Weighty as the arguments for capitalism are, they do not silence its critics. In the past few years their criticisms have attracted more and more attention. Capitalists themselves freely admit that our economic system is not working so well as they wish it did. Economists have called attention to various defects that prevent the smooth operation of economic processes. Not a few thoughtful men believe that we must discover ways to make capitalism work better or else it will not survive.

Let us take up the major criticisms of capitalism. We shall give more space here to the criticisms than to the defense, since it is important that they be faced and dealt with.

¹ Edward A. Filene and C. W. Woods, *Successful Living in the Machine Age* (Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1931), p. 273-274.



A Wider Distribution Would Create Mass Buying Power. In 1929 Two Per Cent of the People Received Thirty Per Cent of the Income and Forty-Two Per Cent of the People Received Ten Per Cent of the Income

Unused Productive Capacity. The Brookings Institution of Washington, D.C., has made a very careful study of America's capacity to produce. The inquiry attempted to answer for each major industry how great a volume of production was possible with the existing plant and equipment with existing methods. Deductions were made for losses due to seasonal fluctuations, losses due to running only part time, losses due to out-of-date machinery, strikes, customs of the trade, and other practical conditions in each industry that tend to reduce output. The question was how much could our system have produced if it were run as in the years before the Depression but run with more efficiency.

It was found that in 1929 twenty per cent of the productive capacity of the nation was not utilized. In fact

this proportion of unused capacity had existed ever since 1900, the earliest date studied. In 1932, 42 per cent of the nation's productive capacity was idle.

The reason was found to be the lack of purchasing power among the masses. The vast majority of American families could not purchase comforts and luxuries; millions of them lacked the bare essentials of health and decency. "If \$2,000 may be regarded as sufficient, at 1929 prices, to supply the basic necessities for a family, we find that 16,000,000 families, or about 60 per cent of the total, were [in 1929] below this income level."

Had the unutilized productive capacity been used and the products distributed to the poorest families, there would have been no family in 1929 whose income was less than \$2,000.¹

Inequality of Income. The Brookings Institution found that in 1929 one tenth of one per cent of the families in the United States received as much income as the 42 per cent of the families at the bottom. That is, 36,000 families earned as much as the poorest 12,180,000 families. Moreover, the Institution found a tendency, at least during the last decade, for the inequality in income to be accentuated. While the incomes of the masses were rising, those in the upper income levels were rising more rapidly.

The upper 10 per cent of the families (those with incomes above \$4,600 a year) made in 1929 about 86 per cent of the total savings. The next highest 10 per cent (with incomes from \$3,100 to \$4,600) made 12 per cent of the savings. The remaining 80 per cent of the population made only 2 per cent of the total savings.

¹ This estimate by the Brookings Institution is by many regarded as almost too conservative. According to the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity, which was financed by federal funds, our existing plant-and man-power, if fully and continuously employed in the production of honest goods and services, could produce an income (in 1929 dollars) of not less than \$4,400 per family. See *The Chart of Plenty* by Harold Loeb, Viking Press, 1935.

(See chart on facing page.) Obviously, those families whose income is under \$3,100 a year find difficulty in saving anything at all, while those in the upper levels cannot possibly spend all they earn, and consequently make large savings.

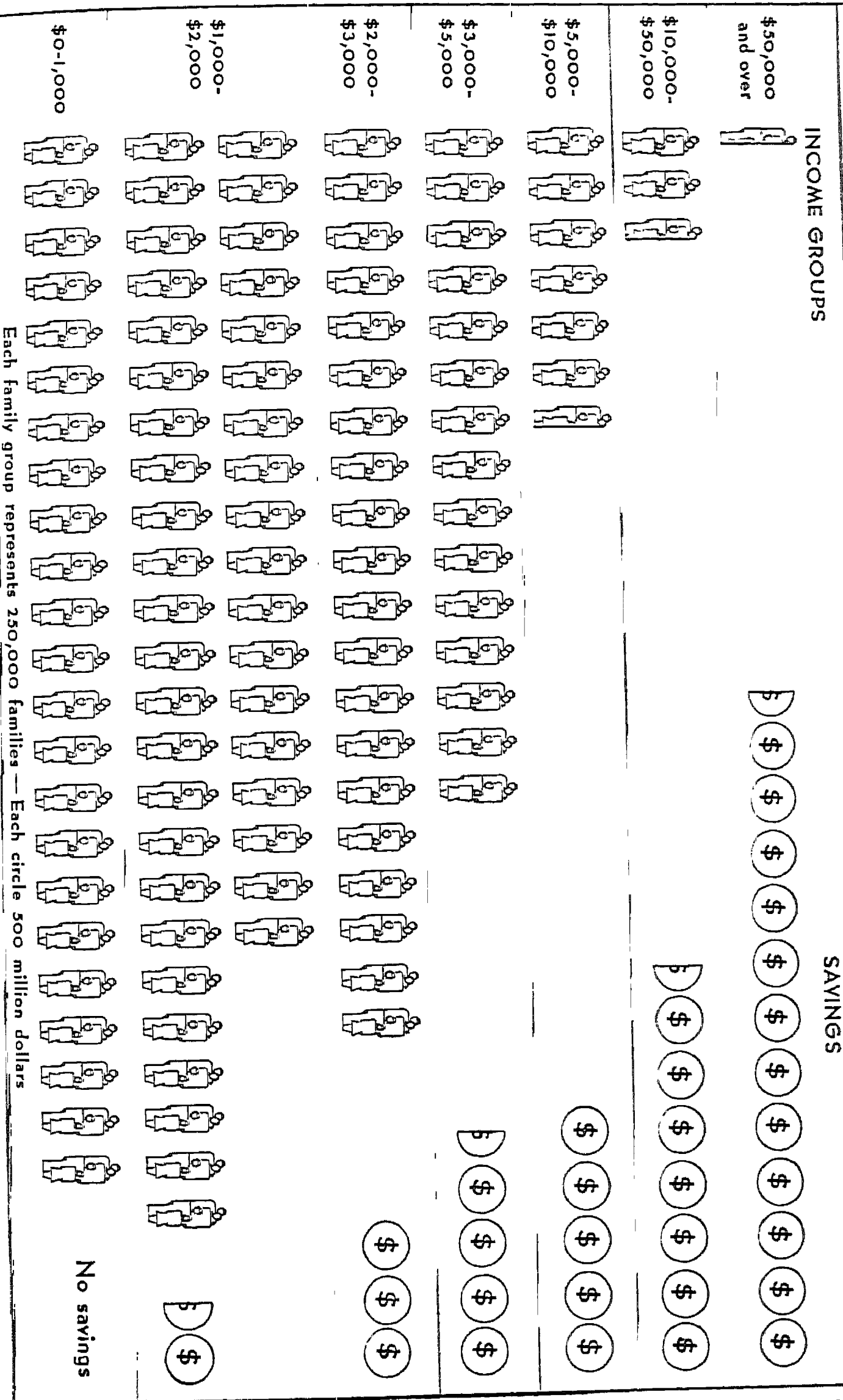
Excess Savings. According to tradition, saving is a virtue. The more money that is saved, the more capital goods (factories, railroads, highways, machines, etc.) will be constructed, and the more consumption goods will be turned out. Apparently this is no longer true. Excess saving by those in the upper income levels has, says the Brookings Institution, become a danger to society.

The Brookings Institution found that *savings are not put into new plants and equipment unless the demand for consumption goods is expanding*. So long as the demand is nearly stationary, businessmen will not add to their plants. Accordingly the savings of the well-to-do will be used not for capital goods but for speculation. This is what happened between 1925 and 1929.

Had these billions of dollars that went into excess savings been spent for consumption goods, businessmen would have invested in new plants and equipment to meet the growing demand. Consequently, any money that was saved would have gone into capital goods and not into speculation. A real rise in the standard of living would have resulted. Furthermore, neither the stock market boom of 1925-1929 nor the collapse of October, 1929, would have occurred. "The primary need at this stage in our economic history," concludes the Brookings Institution, "is a larger flow of funds through consumptive channels rather than more abundant savings."

There are two ways that excess savings can be avoided. The first is to increase the real income of the masses at a much faster rate. This could be done by raising the

AGGREGATE SAVINGS OF FAMILIES BY INCOME GROUPS, 1929



earnings among the low-income groups, including the farmers, or else by reducing the prices of industrial products. Either method would create more purchasing power and so create a need for new plants and equipment for turning out more consumption goods. The second way to avoid excess savings is for the well-to-do to spend more and save less. As conditions now are, the poor might be much better off if the rich spent their income for luxuries.

Excess savings continued to pile up during the Depression, but because of the shrunken market for consumer goods were not invested in new plants and equipment. Instead, these funds remained idle or were used in brief flurries of speculation on the stock market. Higher income taxes have helped check excess savings.

Excessive Human Costs. Human costs include fatigue, exposure to heat, cold, dust, noxious fumes, and unwelcome discipline, and the risks of health, limbs, and life which are incident to labor. Human costs and money costs are often in conflict. Low human costs can often be attained only by high money costs, while low money costs frequently bring high human costs. Under the profit system greater attention will inevitably be paid to the reducing of money costs. The humane employer, who installs expensive equipment to make the work safer for his workers, may have to raise the price of his product. If so, he cannot compete with producers who have not added to their money costs. Unless all the competitors agree, or unless the government obliges them to adopt the same humane practices, the individual employer may be powerless to put his humane ideas into effect. (See pp. 503–504.)

It is easy to excuse the high human costs that prevail in industries where the competition is severe, as in dry cleaning, laundering, textiles, and clothing. But in the many industries dominated by huge corporations or

powerful trade associations, this excuse can hardly be accepted. It is usual in these cases to blame the stockholders, most of whom know nothing of the labor policies of the enterprises in which they own stock. Absentee ownership always makes for the disregard of human costs. However, much of the guilt may rest on management.

Every year the industries of the United States kill through industrial accidents approximately 23,000 employees, disable 575,000 for four weeks or more, and disable 3,000,000 from one to thirty days. It is thought that industrial diseases, such as silicosis and metallic poisoning, kill and disable an even greater number. Powerful incentives to encourage employers to fight industrial accidents and disease are needed. A civilized society cannot tolerate the disregard of human costs by industry. Stricter regulation must come in the near future.

Technological Unemployment. Unemployment due to the adoption of laborsaving machinery has been a constant tragedy since the Industrial Revolution began. Yet in the long run every laborsaving device tends to improve the social welfare (1) by reducing the amount of hard physical labor, and (2) by increasing the output of goods. There are far more men employed in modern shoe factories than ever made shoes by hand, just as there are far more spinners, weavers, and clothing makers than in the days when textiles and clothing were made at home. Every displacement of men by machines has eventually created more employment than ever. Meanwhile the particular men who were displaced paid all the cost of society's gain. Their skill had become valueless; they were lucky if they ever again found any kind of work.

Today this problem is worse than ever. Automatic plants with almost no workmen are being set up. One of these is a factory for making paint. It can operate

for eight hours without a single man, once the freight cars of material have been properly lined up outside. Another automatic plant turns out huge quantities of pottery with no one in sight but one or two engineers. A plant for making automobile frames recently increased its production from 1,000 to 8,000 frames a day and decreased its labor force from 8,000 to 200. Offhand this looks like a clear gain for the human race; so much toil and pain has been made unnecessary; so many more goods will be available. But what will become of those whose jobs have ceased to exist?

In a planned society, it is argued, they would be put at some other productive work at the same rate of pay. This would be done not only to prevent the suffering that goes with unemployment, but also to sustain the total purchasing power of the masses. Without national economic planning they may spend years looking for jobs unless the government "makes" work for them.

Waste of Natural Resources. The story of the squandering of irreplaceable mineral resources is familiar to everyone, yet little or nothing is done about it. "During the time," says the National Industries Board, "it would take the ordinary person to read this fifty-page report, enough fuel will have been wasted in our gas and oil fields and coal mines to keep at least 10,000 relief families warm during the coming winter." The reckless destruction of natural resources is due to the fierce competition between their owners for immediate profit. Careful husbanding would raise costs. So the oil producers leave from 40 to 90 per cent of the oil in the ground, forever unrecoverable, and the coal producers rip out only the richest veins, leaving half the deposit beyond hope of recovery. The ruin of the farm lands is now notorious. (See pp. 406-412.)

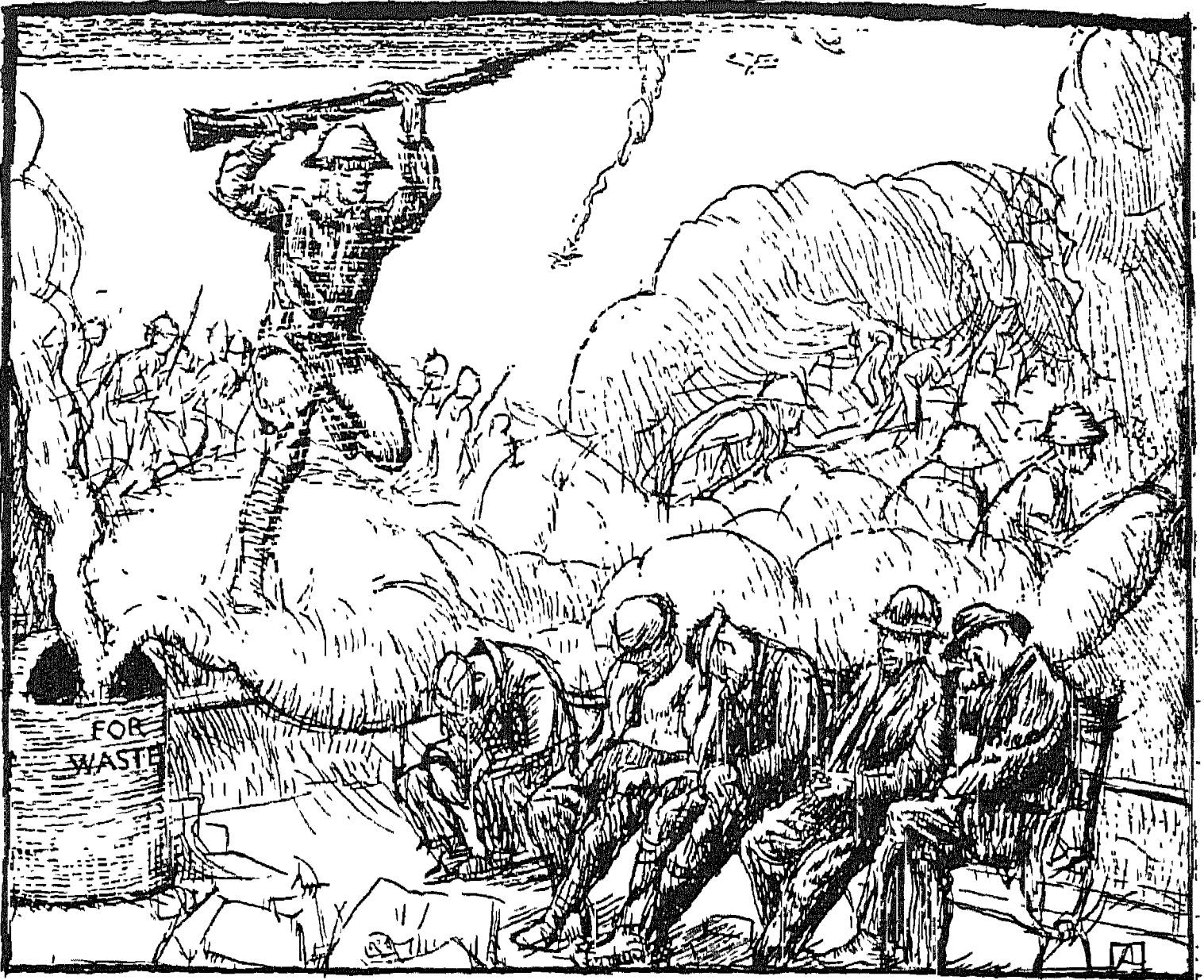
Mr. Morris L. Cooke, chairman of the Mississippi Valley Committee, said in 1935:

At the present rate of destruction only 150 million acres of really fertile land will remain in this country in fifty years — an area three times the size of Nebraska. It is my personal opinion that as matters now stand, and with the continuance of the manner in which the soil is now being squandered, this country of ours has left to it less than one hundred years of virile national existence. We have probably less than twenty years in which to develop the techniques, to recruit the fighting personnel, and, most difficult of all, to change the attitudes of millions of people who hold that ownership of land carries with it the right to mistreat and even destroy their land, regardless of the effect on the total national welfare.

The waste of these priceless resources is a most serious charge against the capitalist system. If it is not soon brought to an end, our whole industrial civilization may be threatened. Mass production depends on cheap fuel and power, and on a cheap and plentiful supply of metals and minerals. Should these disappear, industrial products and machinery will be vastly more expensive than now. For posterity's sake society may have to guard its natural resources, including the soil, much more strictly than is now being done.

Waste of Labor Resources. The individual capitalist cannot consider the economy as a whole. He is obliged to manage his enterprise in such a way as to produce the maximum profits, or, when profits cannot be made, to keep the losses at a minimum. He cannot employ more men than are needed to supply the effective demand for his product.

The result is that even in good times there is an army of unemployed. From two to four million workers were idle at any time in the prosperous years from 1924 to 1929. In March, 1933, the number of unemployed was 13,689,000 — an all-time high. Between 1930 and 1938 goods and services worth about 230 billion dollars were not produced, although the equipment and the workers



THE ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED MEANS AS OMINOUS A WASTE OF
MAN POWER AS AN ARMY OF YOUNG MEN FED
TO MACHINE GUNS

stood ready. Under a planned economic system it is argued that the workers and the machines could be kept busy.

Another waste that is frequently charged to capitalist control of industry is the struggle that continually goes on between capital and labor. This seems to be inevitable under the profit system. It shows in the general tendency among workers to restrict their output, due to their feeling that efficiency will not be rewarded and that it may be penalized by the lowering of piece rates or the hastening of unemployment. Strikes and lockouts are a conspicuous feature of our system. At times they resemble miniature civil war. Always they involve a heavy cost of labor and money.

A high standard of living cannot be attained unless

our labor resources are fully utilized. According to the Brookings Institution, if the unused productive capacity that existed in 1929 had been utilized, all the unemployed and partially employed would have been absorbed and the average work week in industry would have been 51 hours. The extra production thus obtained would in a year have been about 15 billion dollars — enough to enlarge the budgets of half our families by \$1,000 each. In an economy whose goal was to give every family not less than \$2,500 a year to spend, still more production would have been necessary. Either more labor-saving machinery would have been called for or new sources of labor would have had to be tapped.

Waste in Competitive Distribution. The Industrial Revolution not only transformed the method of producing goods but also the way in which they reach the consumer. Goods no longer pass directly from the hands of the producer into those of the consumer. Instead they go through a long series of hands — local buyers, wholesalers, processors, packagers, transportation workers, jobbers, and retailers. Every year the labor devoted to production decreases, while that devoted to marketing the product increases. Distribution costs steadily mount. Too many retail stores, too many traveling salesmen and canvassers, fancy packages, advertising, and crosshauling are social wastes. While they create millions of jobs, they do not increase the total output of goods, and *it is output, not jobs, which determines the standard of living.* To live well, every family needs the largest possible amount of useful goods and useful services; every increase in distribution costs means that less money can be spent for other forms of service and for goods. Our present methods of distribution are very costly and steadily growing more so. Mr. Edward A. Filene, a successful merchant, said that two thirds of the cost of operating our retail stores is pure waste.

The Department of Commerce estimates that the total waste in distribution amounts to ten billions a year. Because of these wastes the retail price of many items is from three to three hundred times their factory cost.

Another name for distribution costs is overhead costs. That these are rapidly mounting has been pointed out by Mr. Walter Rautenstrauch, Professor of Industrial Engineering at Columbia University:

In 1917 when producers got one dollar for making goods, overhead people got another dollar for the various services leading up to the consumer. In 1929, they got \$1.60. But in 1932, when producers got one dollar, overheaders got \$2.30. Overhead costs marched rapidly forward during the 1920's, and broke into a run with the coming of the depression.¹

To return to the ratio that prevailed in 1917 (one producer to one overhead person) about 12,000,000 workers would have to be shifted to the producers' group. This would simplify our whole marketing system, and the consumer's dollar would buy at least twice what it buys today.

Another waste that is characteristic of our economic system is the making of goods of such low quality that they will soon wear out. A slight increase in the manufacturing cost of an article might in many cases double or treble its life. Obviously it is not to the advantage of manufacturers to make such long-lasting articles. Another waste is the manufacture and sale of those medicinal products and cosmetics which are either useless or positively harmful.

Industrial Government Is Autocratic. With the ownership of business property goes the right to exercise despotic power. The rules prescribed by employers affect the lives of their employees as intimately as the ordinances of their city and the statutes of their state. In the

¹ Walter Rautenstrauch, *Who Gets the Money? How the People's Income Is Distributed* (Harper and Brothers, 1934), p. 41.

little businesses that existed when our Constitution was written, the authority of any one employer did not extend far. Besides, the employer usually worked along with his helpers; he could not ignore their opinions. To-day, when a single concern may employ 5,000 or even 250,000 men, the rules are made at the top by managers who may be quite indifferent to the grumblings of the employees.

Industrial management has the same power over its workers as an absolute monarch; it can do as it likes so long as it does not drive its subjects into organized and determined resistance. In the past many corporations have employed labor spies and company police to prevent organization, picketing, or any other effective resistance by their employees. Those workers who tried to organize their fellows were likely to be black-listed, which meant that they could never again obtain employment in the industry. That any group should exercise such power over the lives of any other group cannot be justified.

Trade unions have been struggling to get recognition for the principle, long recognized in government, that those who must obey regulations should have a voice in making them. It is argued that workers should help determine by whom and for what reasons men may be discharged, for what reasons and how long employees may absent themselves without losing their jobs, how promotions and layoffs shall be made, at what hour the day's work should begin and end, and all other shop rules that affect their security and comfort. The struggle for industrial democracy has only just begun; it is as momentous as the struggle in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for political democracy.

Summary. What society must do is discover ways of bringing industry under social control. This is now being attempted in all industrially developed countries. In

the next chapter we shall examine some of the means that have been proposed. Let us close this chapter with an excerpt from *Modern Economic Society*, by Sumner Slichter, Professor of Business Economics at Harvard University:

When we see modern industry failing to give steady employment and to produce to capacity even when millions of people urgently need more goods; unnecessarily killing and maiming thousands of men each year; wasting irreplaceable natural resources simply because it is more profitable under existing economic arrangements to waste them than to conserve them; employing thousands of experts for the purpose of making men desire certain things, not because they are good for men to use but because they are profitable for business enterprises to sell; denying to wage earners an opportunity to participate in making the rules under which they work; when we observe all these things, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that man in no small degree is a slave to his creations, dominated by industry instead of making it serve his ends — that, in the words of Emerson, “things are in the saddle and ride mankind.” How to make industry more of a tool and less of a tyrant, how to prevent the process of making a living from interfering with the opportunity and the capacity of men to lead the good life, how, indeed, to make the process of getting a living a part of the good life itself — these are the supreme economic problems, and at few stages in human history have they been more acute or more fascinating than they are today.¹

WORD STUDY

capital	effective demand	mercantilism
capital goods	enterpriser	overhead
capitalism	excess savings	pecuniary
communism	fascism	real income
consumption goods	<i>laissez-faire</i>	socialism
technological unemployment		

¹ Sumner Slichter, *Modern Economic Society* (Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1932), pp. 9–10.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Briefly distinguish between capitalism and fascism.
2. What is socialism? How does it differ from communism?
3. Characterize the co-operative system in a few words.
4. Outline the theory of free competition. Explain how this theory happened to become popular.
5. What groups of enterprisers are declining?
6. What was the net result of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act?
7. Explain why a depression would not last long on a free market. What was the situation of the market in the period 1929-1933?
8. What part of the corporate wealth of the United States was owned in 1930 by the 200 largest business corporations? By about how many individuals are these corporations controlled?
9. What is meant by interlocking directorates?
10. When are society's savings actually put into new productive plants and equipment? What happens to savings that are not demanded for new capital goods?
11. State two ways by which society could avoid excess savings.
12. What is meant by the high human costs of capitalism?
13. What benefits to society result, in the long run, from the adoption of laborsaving machinery?
14. Why have natural resources been recklessly wasted? Can capitalists adopt a policy of conservation? Justify your answer.
15. Enumerate the wastes in competitive distribution.
16. What is meant by industrial democracy?
17. State the advantages of the capitalistic system, and indicate those which may be endangered by stricter government regulation.

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Review *The Myth of Rugged American Individualism*, by Charles A. Beard. Has *laissez-faire* been fully tried?
2. Discuss the changed tactics of industrial combinations.

For facts concerning the earlier methods used in stamping out competition see *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, by Ida Tarbell and *A Chapter of Erie* by Charles Francis Adams.

3. What are the typical handicaps of a small factory enterprise? Advantages?
4. Explain how ownership, as represented in securities, has been separated from the managerial function it was once supposed to exercise.
5. Discuss what the Brookings Institution discovered about excess savings.
6. A contemporary wit has suggested that the way to abolish recurring booms and depressions is to persuade the rich to build pyramids. Is there any truth in this remark?
7. What can be said for and against the proposal to adopt a thirty-hour working week?
8. Review the findings of the La Follette Committee which investigated civil liberties for the Senate in 1936 and 1937. Additional material about industrial espionage will be found in the book *I Break Strikes* by Edward Levinson, and the book *Spy Overhead* by Clinch Calkins.
9. Prepare a report on the principal types of industrial diseases. How many workers are exposed to conditions likely to produce these diseases? What could be done, and what is being done to prevent them?
10. Give examples of goods that are so made as to need early replacement. (American light bulbs burn 500 or 1,000 hours; Swedish light bulbs burn 1,500 hours. There are hundreds of similar illustrations.) Consult *Your Money's Worth*, by Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink.
11. Review the article, "If Industry Gave Science a Chance," by J. D. Bernay in *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1935, Vol. 170, pp. 257-268.
12. Review the article, "What is Monopoly?" by Saul Nelson in *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1938, Vol. 177, pp. 62-73.
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CHAPTER XXVII

THE TREND TOWARD COLLECTIVISM

What are the principal types of collectivism?

What types of enterprises are most frequently operated by governments?

Why is the public corporation said to be one of the most important social inventions of modern times?

Does co-operation promise more or less freedom than individualism?

YOU WILL FIND your major task in the social sciences to control and apportion that world of plenty which is your inheritance. — OWEN D. YOUNG

Types of Collectivism

What Is Collectivism? Collectivism is the trend away from *laissez-faire* and the trend toward the social control of the economic system. It is the opposite of economic individualism. It would regulate business to social ends, forcing it to conform to a social plan. It is seen in the regulation of business, also in government ownership and in the co-operative movement.

What Is Economic Individualism? Economic individualism has flourished for over a century. It creates a national economy which is planless, disorderly, unsystematic. It worked well while the wilderness was being subdued, and still works well in building a new industry from the ground up. But now that the continent is covered with a network of railroads, mines, factories, stores, and banks, the advantages of individualism are less apparent. It would seem that our primary need

today is not for innumerable new enterprises so much as for the stable operation of those we already have.

Every advanced industrial country is now seeking to bring business under control. Individualism is being bridled. The rights of the community are seen to be greater than the rights of a single business. If the businessman's power to do as he likes with his property is seen to interfere with the welfare of the community, this power will assuredly be whittled away.

Patterns of Collectivism. Collectivism falls into four leading patterns. Beginning with the most extreme, these are:

1. Dictatorial state socialism as in the Soviet Union.
2. Dictatorial state control-without-ownership as in Italy and Germany. This is fascism.
3. Democratic collectivism as in the Scandinavian countries.
4. Experiments in government regulation — the New Deals of the New World.

Dictatorial State Socialism in the Soviet Union. Industry in Russia is largely carried on by giant corporations or trusts owned by the state. Each trust controls a major industry. It must meet its own debts, produce as much as the central planning board demands, keep its costs down, and try to make a profit. Each enterprise controlled by the trust must meet the same requirements. Workers' management of the individual enterprises was tried but soon given up. Now each enterprise is administered by a trained manager; if he does not produce a profit he is likely to be removed. Part of the profit from any enterprise is used for expansion, part goes to the state, and part is awarded as premiums to the staff. Retail trade is handled by several great chains of stores, each owned by a trust. Agriculture is largely in the hands of village collectives. Since

1922, when the central planning board began to function, Russia has advanced from a backward pre-machine economy to third place among industrial nations.

Few individual enterprises in the Soviet Union could compare in efficiency with many private enterprises in the United States when the latter are running somewhere near full capacity. But it is claimed that the Russian system as a whole possesses certain advantages: (1) the entire economic system operates at capacity; (2) there is no duplication of plants — no parallel lines of competing transportation systems and terminals, no unneeded factories or stores; (3) natural resources are handled so as to conserve them to the utmost; (4) the business cycle has been eliminated.

Fascism. In Italy and Germany capitalism has been supplanted by fascism -- the most extreme state regulation of all economic activity. The state fixes prices, wages, and profits, and prevents strikes and lockouts. It can forbid new enterprise, can force competing businesses to combine, can veto the decisions of industrial leaders, can force them to employ more workers than they need. The bare right to *own* capital is not affected; but the capitalist has little chance to control his capital. While the principle of private enterprise is retained, it seems to mean only private responsibility without freedom of action. A statement of Mussolini's is illuminating:

When does capitalistic enterprise cease to be an economic factor? When its size compels it to be a social factor . . . it is the moment when the intervention of the state begins rendering itself more necessary. We are at this point. Now there is no economic field in which the state is not called upon to intervene. Today we bury economic liberalism. Corporationalism is disciplined economy, and from that comes control, because we cannot imagine a dictatorship without a director. Corporationalism is above socialism and liberalism. We take

the vitality from both and march on. . . . Italy is not a capitalistic nation.

Fascism attempts to freeze the existing economic arrangements; parliamentary government is abandoned in order to protect the economic setup from change. All social forces that might check it or modify it, such as labor unions, political parties, and free speech, are abolished.

Fascism outlaws the class struggle, and will tolerate no conflicts between capital and labor. All classes and groups are compelled to co-operate for the furtherance of national aims. Unfortunately, the national aims, as conceived by Mussolini and Hitler, appear to be for military power and conquest rather than for a higher standard of living. Since the advent of these two dictators the standard of living in both countries has declined.

Democratic Collectivism in Sweden. Sweden is governed by an elected parliament on democratic principles. Half the business in Sweden is operated either by the state or by co-operative societies. The state owns and operates all railroad, telephone, and telegraph systems; generates 34 per cent. of all electric power; owns and operates 33 per cent of the mines and 25 per cent of the forest area. Private companies, rigidly controlled by the state, have monopolies of tobacco, liquor, and radio broadcasting; their dividends are limited to 6 per cent. The state competes in many fields of private enterprise in order to keep prices at reasonable levels. Experience has shown that the easiest way to break the power of a trust is for the state or a co-operative association to erect a competing plant of the smallest size compatible with efficient operation, and then to sell the product at cost plus a moderate return on the investment. This is the famous "yardstick" method by which

society can exercise an indirect control over private enterprise.

Bread prices went down one third when the co-operative mill and bakery began business, and light bulbs dropped in price 50 per cent when a co-operative factory was built to produce them. Monopoly prices on galoshes, tires, oleomargarine, etc., have been driven down by the opening of co-operative factories. A co-operative society provides insurance — fire, burglary, fidelity, motor, and life — at low cost. Many farm products are processed and marketed by agricultural co-operatives which sell direct to co-operative stores. The largest department store in Stockholm is owned by a co-operative. One fourth of all the housing in Stockholm is owned either by the co-operatives or the government. It is interesting to note that the very capable head of the Swedish Co-operative Union (which is made up of 635 societies having 551,000 family memberships), receives a salary of only \$5,000 a year.

Sweden has the highest standard of living in Europe. Stockholm has more telephones, electric devices, and automobiles for every thousand inhabitants than any other European city. Denmark, Norway, and Finland have also made notable progress by methods resembling those of Sweden. However, they are not industrial nations, and therefore their experience is of less interest to us. It should be noted that 90 per cent of Danish farmers own their farms; and that members of their agricultural co-operatives receive 70 per cent of the consumers' food dollar (American farmers receive about a third of the consumers' food dollar). Their standard of living is fully as high as that of American farmers if farm owners and tenants in all parts of the United States be averaged in.

The New Deals of the New World. Individualism has flourished in the New World as nowhere else. Probably

under no other economic system could vast continents have been so rapidly settled and industrialized. Now that the frontiers have gone and the cream of the natural resources has been skimmed, individualism is not functioning as it did. It is significant that in many New World countries the attempt to regulate business is gaining strength. Especially since the onset in 1929 of a world-wide depression, the trend away from *laissez-faire* has become marked. The New Deal in the United States has been paralleled by more or less similar experiments in Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Chili, and Uruguay.

Drastic reforms are going forward in Mexico. Land is being distributed to the peons; minimum wages have been fixed in industry, and hours of labor are limited to forty-eight a week; extensive public works and low-cost housing projects are under construction. Uruguay has embarked on a particularly sweeping program, with state-owned banks, insurance companies, communications, packing plants, and munitions plants. The new constitution adopted by Uruguay in 1934 provides for old-age pensions, workmen's accident insurance, cheap housing for laborers, free medical care for the poor, the forty-eight hour week, minimum wages, and other advanced social legislation. There is scarcely a nation in the western hemisphere which has not started on the road to collectivism. Everywhere the old system of economic individualism is being challenged.

The Trend toward Government Ownership

At the same time that governments all over the world are extending their regulation of business, there is also a trend in some industries toward outright government ownership. Concerning this the English economist, J. A. Hobson, writes:

Apart from all the theories of socialism and individualism, a general tendency is to be seen in civilized countries toward the assertion of public ownership, operation, and control of land (natural resources and agriculture), power, transport, money, insurance, education, and hygiene, regarded as necessary prerequisites of liberty and opportunity.

Kinds of Enterprises Operated by Governments. One third of the world's railroad mileage is government operated; if the mileage in the United States be excepted, then the proportion operated by government is well over half. Except in the United States, Brazil, and Spain, practically all the world's telephones and telegraphs are government owned. Many governments operate banks, insurance companies, and extensive housing projects. As early as 1913 most of the medical practitioners in Europe were employed by the state, and most of the hospitals were operated under public social insurance schemes. The largest printing plant in the world is operated by the United States government; the governments of the world print more books and pamphlets than do all private publishers together. All forests are publicly administered in Germany, France, India, and Japan; in most other countries a considerable portion of the forests is publicly owned. In many countries the government owns some of the mines. The strict regulation of mines in Germany amounts to government operation. A number of nations operate a monopoly of liquor, narcotics, tobacco, matches, salt, potash, or agricultural implements. Hydroelectric plants and superpower networks are often government owned.

Municipal ownership of light, power, water, gas, and broadcasting stations is increasingly common in every part of the world. Municipal markets, ferries, subways, and trolley lines are very numerous. Municipal slaughterhouses are common in Germany, Italy, Australia, and New Zealand. German and Italian cities frequently

own milk-distributing systems. In Europe many cities have municipal undertakers and crematoriums.

Manufacturing is a less usual activity of government. Yet without including the Soviet Union, we can find almost every kind of manufacturing being carried on somewhere or other by some unit of government. Sixty per cent of the steel output of Japan is produced by the government. Brickworks, re-enforced concrete works, iron mills, tin and copper smelters, plants making trolley cars and railroad cars, armament works, furniture shops, flour mills, bakeries, shoe factories, distilleries, breweries, canneries, and creameries are not infrequently operated by a government.

In 1914 Mr. Sidney Webb and a group of other English economists published a survey of government ownership. After tabulating the evidence Mr. Webb wrote the following summary:

In the face of the widespread incursion of state and municipal governments over the world into so many different departments of industry — continued for a whole century and steadily increasing in volume with growing experience of the results — it is, we think, of only academic interest to discuss the question of whether or not government enterprise as such can be deemed “successful.” No such abstract question can be properly put or answered. Whether any particular forward step shall be taken is in fact decided, whether or not we should have it so, not on general principles by the academic economist, or by the partisans of either individualism or collectivism, but on the actual experience lying behind each case. . . . The general trend of these decisions is unmistakably shown in the great development of state enterprise in all the civilized countries of the world, in practically all the departments of life.

Government Ownership in the United States. In the United States the *laissez-faire* tradition is especially strong, and the resistance to government ownership on the part of businessmen has been more successful than

in many other countries. Yet little by little the government has entered a number of fields once reserved for private business.

In 1800 there were thirty citywide water systems in the United States, only one of which was municipally owned. Today well over 7,000 cities and villages own water systems. There are now about 100 municipal gas plants and 1,800 municipal power plants. Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Seattle are the largest cities owning their own electric systems. A century ago nearly all schools were privately owned, as were canals, ferries, bridges, and improved highways; today it is taken for granted that these are public business. American cities own many trolley lines, markets, beaches, golf courses, swimming pools, piers, airports, tunnels, terminals, and warehouses. Fuel yards, ice plants, milk-distributing plants, laundries, and central heating plants are also owned by a few cities.

Massachusetts operates a life insurance system and so does New York State. North Dakota owns a state bank, a flour mill, a grain elevator, and operates a system of crop insurance. A number of states operate printing plants. One prints schoolbooks. Most states operate prison industries which supply many of the articles needed by state institutions. Chief Justice Taft once declared that a state may engage in "almost any private business if the legislature thinks that the state's engagement in it will help the general public."

The federal government operates inland waterways, steamship lines, a barge line on the Mississippi, parcel post, postal savings banks, several giant hydroelectric plants, the nitrates plant at Muscle Shoals, the Alaskan railway, the huge government printing plant, and several shipyards. In the Panama Canal Zone the federal government operates housing, power, food supply, bakeries, laundries, cold storage plants, hotels, and department stores. In 1927 the federal government owned and

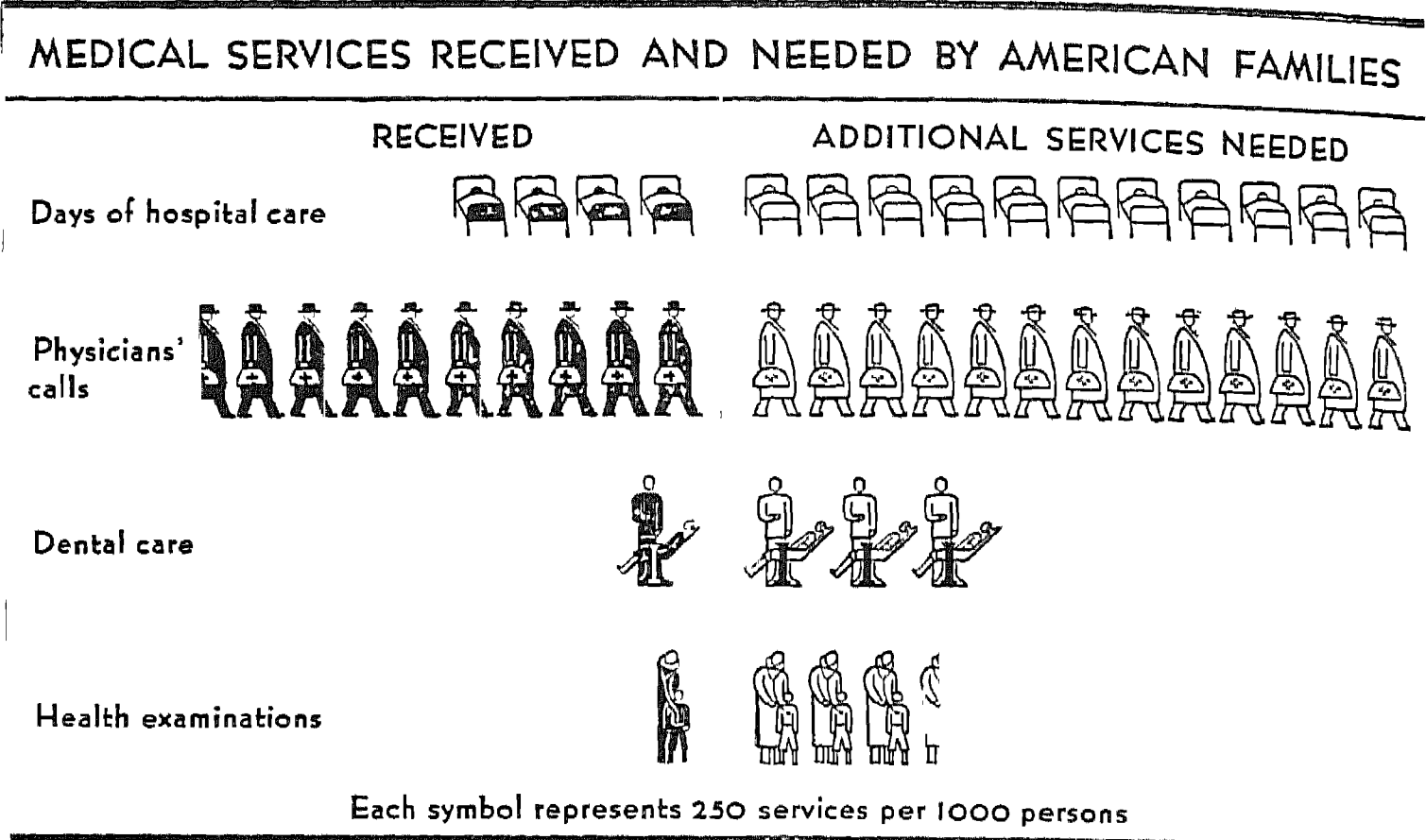
operated 194 million acres of land. It also owned 135 million acres leased out to private operators. Since 1933 the government has been busy with public works of the most varied nature. It has operated many small enterprises where unemployed workers produce articles needed by families on relief. Through the Home Owners' Loan Corporation it has acquired mortgages on 1,500,000 homes, becoming the largest mortgage-holder in the country. Under the pressure of circumstances it has embarked on many enterprises. In some of these, such as conservation, it must remain permanently.

Nobody's Business. Some enterprises are not adapted to profit making. Hence, as the need for them becomes insistent, the government is obliged to operate them. Among these are river and harbor improvement, soil and ocean mapping, flood control, weather forecasting, lighthouse keeping, agricultural experiment stations, the care and propagation of wild life, and fire fighting.

Another group of enterprises offer a low margin of profit or else a long-delayed profit. Reforestation seldom tempts an individual. Private enterprise has not been interested in low-cost housing, or in playgrounds, parks, and playfields. These and numerous other services which perhaps could be carried on by businessmen are left to the government.

Social insurance is an area little developed by private business. It is true that private insurance companies offer insurance against most of the hazards of life. But in order to cover the salesman's commission and the cost of advertising and to show a profit, it is sold at a price which makes adequate protection available only to the well-to-do. If the masses are to have insurance against sickness, accident, old age, and unemployment, apparently it must be provided by the government.

Medical care is still another field which is fast being collectivized. Most hospitals for mental cases and for



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In 1929 American Families Needed Four Times as Many Days of Hospital Care, Twice as Many Physicians' Calls, Four Times as Many Visits to the Dentist, and Eight Times as Many Health Examinations as They Received

the tubercular are government owned. Every sizable city finds it necessary to operate a general hospital and free clinics. Yet millions of Americans who need hospital care do not obtain it. Hundreds of thousands obtain it free or at less than cost because otherwise they would go without it. Two in every five of our people are going without medical care of any kind. Only one in five persons in the United States receives dental care. Because these services are so necessary to a civilized people, government is under almost irresistible pressure to extend them to those who cannot afford to call a private practitioner or go to a private hospital. England, Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark have well-administered systems which place medical and hospital care within reach of those of moderate or low income.

Unprofitable Industries Seek Public Ownership. Cities have often been obliged to take over trolley or rapid-transit lines when their private owners found them un-

profitable. During the Depression, when American railroads were losing money, their security holders began agitating for government ownership. (Incidentally, a great Canadian railroad, although bankrupt, was taken over a few years ago by the Canadian government at a high valuation. Paying interest on these overvalued securities results in a loss which has to be made up by the taxpayers.) Owners of submarginal coal mines, cut-over lands, and submarginal farm lands are now hoping to sell their property to the government.

Whenever an industry operates at a loss, it is glad of government assistance, even though this invites government regulation. The American merchant marine and the aviation industry receive subsidies in the form of mail contracts. Through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation seven billions of government funds was lent to banks, insurance companies, railroads, and mortgage companies to save them from certain bankruptcy. Those which could not repay the loans made to them by the RFC became legally subject to its operation and control. As early as 1935 the RFC owned, or possessed a controlling interest in, 2,000 utility companies, three insurance companies, scores of national banks, one railroad, and one real-estate mortgage company. At the urgent request of banks and mortgage companies the government was also forced to enter the small-mortgage business. The Home Owners' Loan Corporation holds mortgages to the amount of nearly five billion dollars. Thus government, in response to pressure from one group after another, finds itself ever more heavily burdened with business.

So far we have been discussing the growth of government ownership in nonprofit-making enterprises, where private business either has not entered to any considerable extent or from which it wishes to withdraw. Whether government ownership should be extended into

profit-making areas is quite another question. This is where the contest comes.

Government Yardsticks. Many persons who would oppose government ownership of an entire industry are in favor of government ownership of a few model enterprises. In the field of housing, for example, the government has demonstrated what can reasonably be expected in a modern wage earner's home. Our government housing projects are too few to have any importance except as yardsticks by which private housing can be judged. They have aroused tremendous interest in the whole subject of low-cost homes, and have stimulated businessmen to enter this neglected field.

Yardsticks to reduce the rates and prices of monopolies are now attracting much attention. Except in controlling railroad rates, government regulation of utilities in the United States has been of little value. Evidence seems to show that competition with municipal electric plants has done more to reduce electric rates to domestic users than all the work of all the state utility commissions. Yardsticks to demonstrate how cheaply electricity can be supplied and how much its use in the home can be increased have been set up by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Sometimes an American city has established a fuel yard, a bakery, or some other enterprise in order to force private business to lower its prices. Mayor La Guardia of New York threatened to operate a municipal milk-distributing service to prove that the wide spread between what the farmer receives and what the city consumer pays can be reduced. The yardstick method has been a brilliant success in Sweden. Its use in the United States will probably grow.

The Nationalization of Armaments. There is a movement the world over for government manufacture of munitions. It seems only a question of time before

private manufacture and traffic in arms will be abolished. Many a South American "revolution" and many a conflict in China have been fomented by ammunition sellers. After investigating the activities of American "merchants of death," the Nye Committee in 1935 recommended to the Senate that the making of armaments should be a government monopoly. The ominous revelations of this committee led the English Parliament to launch a similar inquiry. The French Chamber of Deputies voted in 1936 that no munitions shall be manufactured in France except by the government.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, favors government monopoly of this deadly industry. He writes:

Those profit-making enterprises which are interested in the manufacture and shipment of arms are steadily reaching out to influence the policy of governments as well as the approach to public opinion through the press. . . . The growing movement to make the manufacture of munitions of war a government monopoly will be greatly strengthened as public opinion comes to recognize the dangers of permitting the continuance of conditions under which zeal for private profit is free vigorously to oppose the highest public interests of the people of the world.

The Proposed Plan for Government Operation of the Railroads. At the request of Congress, Mr. Joseph B. Eastman, then Federal Co-ordinator of Transportation, prepared a plan for a government corporation to operate the railroads. The corporation would be administered by five trustees. It would acquire the common stock, or at least the majority of it, in each railroad in the United States. Instead of money for the stock, the stockholders would receive certificates entitling them to dividends. Thus the trustees would possess the voting privileges carried by the common stock and could determine the policies to be followed. Note that this plan does not contemplate government ownership.

The advantages of government operation, says Mr. Eastman, would be (1) low cost of capital, (2) the opportunity gradually to reduce or eliminate the bonded debt without undue hardship to the public, (3) freedom from the valuation nightmare which is perpetual under regulation — the valuation of the property on which the company has a right to receive the rate of earnings allowed by the government's regulating commission, (4) the increased efficiency of operating as one co-ordinated system, (5) the constant limelight playing on a huge corporation with open records, which would tend to prevent corruption and inefficiency.

Many owners of railroad securities are in favor of government operation, inasmuch as they expect the value of their securities would thereby appreciate. Farmers and others who are eager for cheaper freight rates are also in favor of the proposal. Rates should be reduced further and further as the bonded debt is retired. (Private corporations rarely consider the retirement of bonded debt. The charges on it may continue forever, unless bankruptcy intervenes.) The principal argument against the plan is that co-ordination of all the competing lines and terminals will throw many railroad workers out of employment. For this reason the proposal will probably not be acted upon for the present.

It can be safely prophesied that government operation of the railroads will come about by general consent, just as has almost every other venture in the regulation or control of business. Each venture has to be decided on its own merits, regardless of any preconceived theory.

It seems likely that new forms for government operation will be invented. Mr. Eastman's proposal is for *government operation without ownership*. Organization in the form of a public corporation is well adapted to public enterprise. It is one of the most brilliant social inventions of this century.

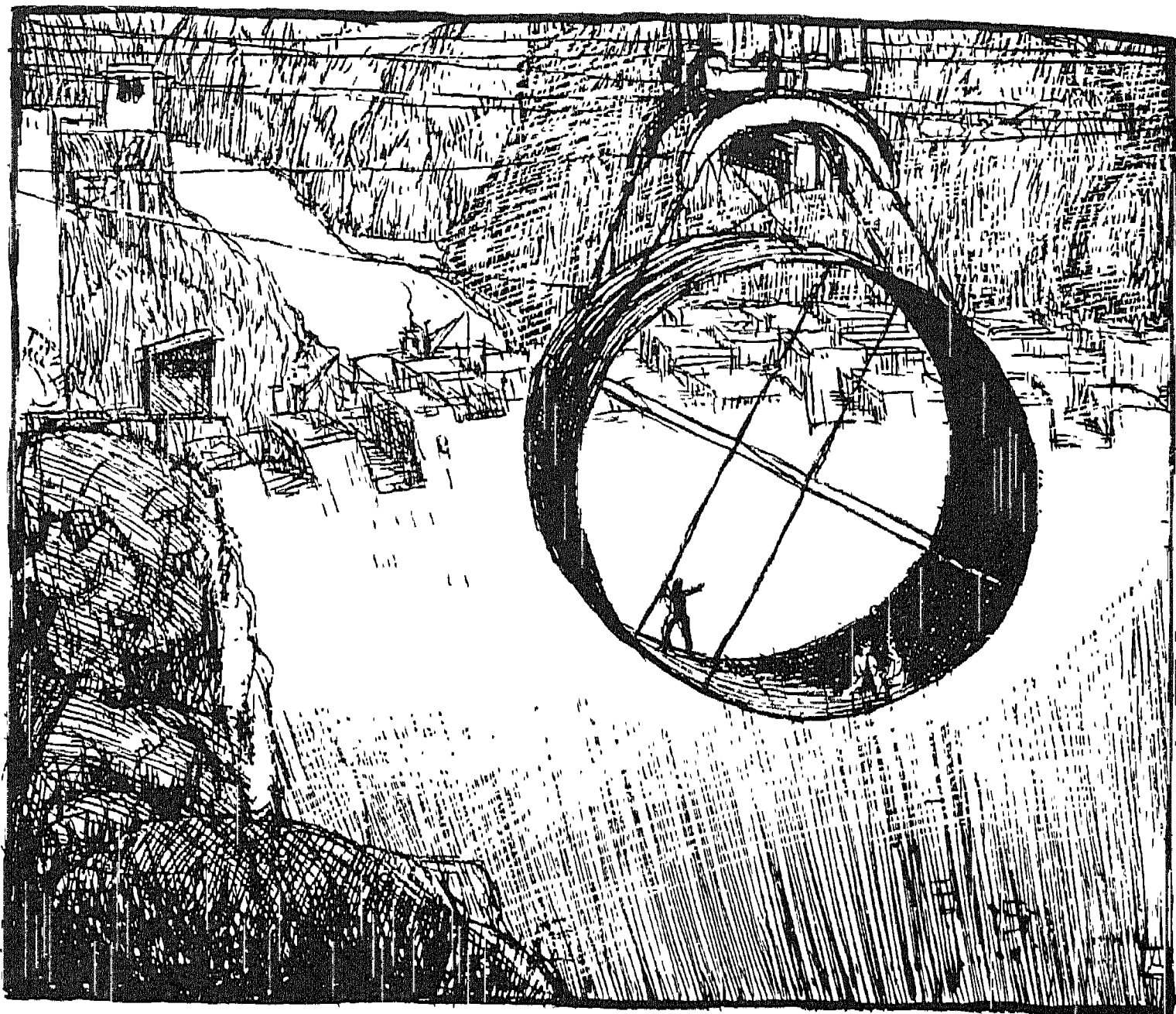
The Public Corporation. A variety of public enterprises are organized as corporations. There are numerous examples abroad. At home the Inland Waterways Corporation, the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation are typical of a large group. State and municipal governments may also put their enterprises into corporate form.

A public corporation need not be owned outright by a government. The government may own or acquire only the majority of the common stock. This gives the government the privilege of appointing the directors, and in this way it obtains control of the policies of the corporation.

Of course a big corporation is bound to be cumbersome and bureaucratic, whether it is privately or publicly owned. This is one of the disadvantages of all big business.¹ But a public corporation has one great advantage over a private corporation — it can adjust its prices and rates in order to run at full capacity. It is also likely to pursue an enlightened policy toward its employees which tends to minimize labor troubles. Witness the Norris Dam built by the Tennessee Valley Authority with a labor turnover of only one per cent a month, whereas turnover in private construction jobs of this type normally runs from 25 to 50 per cent a month. It is thought that the dam is one of the cheapest ever built.

By operating a government enterprise as a corporation it is said that all the capitalistic devices for achieving efficiency can be utilized. Political influence need not enter into the choice of any of its employees, except possibly the directors themselves. The directors will be men of eminence serving without pay. They will have complete responsibility for the success or failure

¹ See *The Curse of Bigness*, by Justice Louis Brandeis (Viking Press, 1934).



THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS BUILDING SOME OF THE GREATEST DAMS THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN TO CONTROL FLOODS, EXTEND RIVER NAVIGATION, AND FURNISH CHEAP POWER

of the corporate enterprise, just as do the directors of any corporation; therefore they will select the most competent administrator they can find and turn the management over to him. The administrator can hire and fire without political or civil service restrictions. By one important device the public's interests will be better safeguarded than in the case of a private corporation — the records will be open for inspection. Exorbitant prices paid for supplies; favoritism in buying supplies¹; exorbitant salaries and bonuses to executives; padded expense accounts; or immoderate profits cannot survive the glare of publicity. Indeed, it is often argued

¹ That corruption is not absent under private ownership is amply proved by John Flynn in his book, *Graft in Business* (Vanguard Press, 1931).

that the records of every corporation should be open to inspection, on the ground that publicity is more effective than any kind of regulation.

The Canadian National Railways are a government-controlled corporation. The administrator, Sir Henry Thornton, said:

There never has been any politics. . . . Today there is as much chance of politics getting into the Canadian National Railways as there is of an elephant walking a tightrope. Last year the railways bought 99 million dollars' worth of supplies. Not one cent was dictated politically.

The Tennessee Valley Authority is one of the many new public corporations. It does not, however, have any stock. For a time it was administered by a board of three salaried directors, two of them distinguished college presidents. Speaking of the TVA, the former chairman said:

Our project here is being severely criticized. There is a habit of propaganda, especially among private utilities, to the effect that everything the government does must be corrupt and inefficient. I think such an attitude comes fairly close to national disloyalty. To convince young men and women that their government is of necessity inefficient and corrupt makes them ashamed of it, and unwilling to work for it. It is our business here to prove it is not so.

The Spread of Semipublic Business

The domain of *laissez-faire* is being encroached upon by yet another kind of enterprise — semipublic business conducted by voluntary nonprofit associations.

Kinds of Semipublic Business. Voluntary associations conduct a great variety of nonprofit-making activities, including hospitals, clinics, museums, art galleries, libraries, orphanages, trade schools, colleges, publishing, summer camps, concerts, gymnasiums, swimming pools, athletic fields, community halls, forums, and innumer-

able other philanthropic, educational, or recreational services.

A typical example of semipublic business is a city Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A. with its residence hall, cafeteria, gymnasium, recreational and educational features, conducted not for profit (it runs at a loss) but for service. A university club in a metropolis often operates a hotel for the exclusive use of its members, furnishing service at cost. A Boy Scout camp is another enterprise run at or below cost. Foundations, churches, religious denominations, fraternal organizations, charities, and associations of every description perform valuable functions for the public or for their own members without expectation of profit. These activities are steadily being expanded.

Co-operative Associations. Co-operative associations are engaged in semipublic business. In the United States mutual life and fire insurance companies and building and loan associations (also known as co-operative banks) have long been known. There are also 5,000 co-operative credit unions in the United States.

Farmers' marketing co-operatives are of great and growing importance. Well over one third of our commercially sold foodstuffs and fibers are marketed co-operatively, and the better co-operatives have increased their members' returns as much as 25 per cent. Some marketing co-operatives purchase farm supplies for their members, and there are also over 2,000 rural co-operatives engaged exclusively in purchasing. More than one eighth of all farm supplies are now purchased co-operatively. The Eastern States Farmers' Exchange in 1935 did a \$14,000,000 business in feeds, fertilizer, paint, seeds, etc.; the Grange League Federation of Ithaca in 1937 did a \$43,000,000 business in the same items. Co-operatives have forced down the price of fertilizer by 40 per cent. A co-operative chick hatch-

ery in Indiana cut the mortality of chicks purchased by its members from 25 per cent, which prevailed when they bought from commercial hatcheries, to only 2 per cent.

Co-operative gasoline distribution has grown by leaps and bounds in the Middle West. The first gas and oil co-operative appeared in 1921. Now there are 2,000 of them, owning their own oil-blending plants, and talking of buying oil wells.

Co-operative retail stores are far less common here than they are in Europe. In Wisconsin and Minnesota the Central Co-operative Wholesale Society has 131 stores. Seventy of these stores were found to have an average operating expense of 14.97 per cent of their turnover, compared with 20.9 per cent in chain stores in the same territory. Several hundred other co-operative stores are found scattered over the United States. There are a number of co-operative milk-distributing plants which furnish milk to members at two to four cents a quart cheaper than commercial companies. Counting farm supplies, gasoline and oil, food, drugs, clothing, etc., the consumers' co-operatives bought for their members some \$500,000,000 worth of goods in 1937. This is about one per cent of the total retail business of the country.

Minnesota — the Nation's Most Co-operative State. The Land-O-Lakes Creameries, Inc., of Minneapolis is a federation of more than five hundred co-operative creameries. Its annual sales are about \$50,000,000. It has taught its member creameries to turn out products of superior quality, and in this way, as well as by economies in marketing, has substantially raised the earnings of the farmers who own the creameries. Co-operative filling stations and stores are thickly sprinkled over the state. There are also co-operative newspapers, cafeterias, laundries, medical services, insurance com-

panies, credit unions, telephone companies, cemeteries, and burial societies. Minnesota, with a population of 2,627,000, has a total of 2,866 consumer co-operatives. These have 531,180 memberships and do a business of \$28,000,000 a year.

How a Co-operative Differs from a Corporation. Membership in a co-operative is usually acquired in the same way as membership in a corporation — by the investment of capital. Each member must invest a stated sum, often only five dollars. But the corporation's membership may be more or less limited, while the co-operative is open to all. Co-operative associations are usually governed by a board of directors selected by the members, just as in a corporation. The directors appoint the manager. In two important respects the co-operatives differ from corporations: (1) each member, no matter how much capital he has invested, has only one vote, which he may *not* exercise by proxy; (2) the funds invested in the enterprise receive only a limited return. The upper limit is usually six per cent. After this has been paid, the surplus remaining is used for expansion, or education, or is distributed among the members. In the case of a co-operative workshop, the workers share in the surplus in proportion to their wages. In the case of buyers' or sellers' co-operatives the surplus is distributed as a patronage dividend, in proportion to the amounts purchased or sold through the association. In some co-operatives there is a rule that no employee, even the manager, shall receive in salary or wages more than five times the wage of the lowest-paid employee. Often a co-operative association feels an obligation to provide satisfactory working conditions for its employees and to pay them more than the prevailing wage rates, but an occasional co-operative has had serious labor troubles.

Significance of the Co-operative Movement. Perhaps the greatest immediate value of the co-operative movement

is the development of yardsticks by which the activities of private business can be measured. Marketing co-operatives have reduced distribution costs and improved quality. Consumers' co-operatives, when they succeed in offering a better quality of goods or service at a lower cost, also have a corrective influence on private business.

The education of the consumer is another important feature. Consumers' co-operatives disclose the grades, formulas, and specifications of what they sell and teach the consumer to buy on the basis of accurate knowledge instead of on the emotional appeal made by attractive brand-names, pretty labels, and clever advertising. Co-operatives do not, as a rule, offer extravagant services such as charge accounts, unnecessarily frequent delivery, and fancy or tiny packages, which raise the cost of goods in ordinary stores. Nor do they employ canvassers or more than a bare minimum of advertising. Consumers' co-operatives frown upon all practices tending to increase distribution costs, or to mislead or coerce the purchaser.

Co-operation is a powerful *socializing* force. Within its membership the co-operative substitutes mutual aid for competitiveness. It is not a device by which the strong members may utilize their advantage over the weak. On the contrary, every co-operator, whether rich or poor, white or black, is on an equal footing with the rest, having one and only one vote in deciding the policies of the association. In carrying on their enterprise the members have opportunity to develop a sense of responsibility for fellow co-operators and for the co-operative's employees.

Co-operation tends to win back for the co-operators the control over economic conditions that is otherwise not in their keeping. To illustrate this, the achievement of thirty poor Negro families in Gary, Indiana, may be cited. In 1932 these people between them scraped together \$24 with which to start a co-operative buying

club. In a few months the club had enough members (each of whom invested a little in its working capital) to start a store. In 1935 their store did a \$35,000 business with four hundred member families. It was then the largest Negro-owned store in the United States, and what it meant to its members in self-respect and self-reliance is not easily estimated.

Economic Liberty through Co-operation. The story of the co-operatives of Antigonish, Nova Scotia, is proof of what mutual aid can do in the face of tremendous odds. These people have endured unparalleled hardships for years, eking out the barest existence at fishing, farming, and mining. By hard and perilous labor a fisherman could earn \$250 a year. The fishers sold their catch for a pittance to buyers from distant cities. Often they did not even own their boats and equipment but rented them from the middlemen. Depleted by continual migration west and south, many villages had too few people left to sustain any efficient community effort. Their situation was desperate. Encouraged by teachers from St. Francis Xavier University, little study groups began in the late 1920's to study the co-operative movement.

In Dover, a village composed of 55 families of fisherfolk, a fishing association was formed. For two years they struggled to raise a capital of \$125. In 1931 they cut lumber and dragged it from the woods by hand, since they had no horses and were too poor to hire any. With the lumber they built a lobster cannery and a wharf. With money lent them by friends in the University they equipped their cannery in time for the 1932 catch. The profits of \$4,000 made during the first season paid off the debt and left a small surplus. As they had no milk for their children, they bought goats. Next they made co-operatively two large, seaworthy boats. They organized classes for adults, twenty of

whom learned to read and write. The women began to take up handicrafts, the men to plant gardens. Then they built a co-operative fish-curing plant and storage house. Their earnings had risen enough so that they could hire two teachers for the ninety pupils in their school; one teacher took the elementary grades and the other took the high school. The people have built roads, and are saving for a village hall and a co-operative electric plant.

While Dover was undergoing this amazing change, other villages in Antigonish were seizing hold of their own economic destiny. By 1935, 60 communities were served by 19 co-operative lobster canneries and fish plants, 18 co-operative stores and buying clubs, and 45 credit unions. Between 1932 and 1935 these groups pooled orders for 15,000 tons of fertilizer, on which they saved \$75,000. Each season they charter a ship that brings flour and feed from Lake Superior at a saving of \$8,000 on each shipload.

To measure these achievements only in terms of money would be to miss the enriching experiences that co-operation has brought to these people. Hope and enthusiasm dawned where had been despair. Helplessness gave way to a precious sense of economic independence and power. Community spirit revived. The individualism which had kept them in hopeless poverty is being abandoned. In collective effort they have found a freedom such as they have never known.

WORD STUDY

collectivism

patronage dividend

consumer co-operation

public corporation

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What are the four leading patterns of collectivism?
2. Fascism is often said to be a form of capitalism. What is

the leading feature of capitalism? Is it present or absent in Italy and Germany? Illustrate.

3. Make a diagram showing the relationships between the planning board, a trust controlling a major industry, and an individual enterprise within that industry in the Soviet Union.
4. To what extent is the Swedish economy collectivized?
5. What is notable about agricultural Denmark?
6. Give evidence to show that the New Deal was not confined to the United States.
7. Indicate the types of business which are "nobody's business."
8. Where does the contest regarding government ownership begin?
9. Give examples of government yardsticks in the United States.
10. What group has led the agitation for government ownership of the railroads? Does Mr. Eastman's proposal contemplate government ownership? Explain. Can you cite an unfortunate Canadian experience which may have influenced Mr. Eastman?
11. Give examples of public corporations. Can you mention any controlled by state or local government?
12. How can a government control a corporation without owning it outright?
13. What are the advantages claimed for the corporate form of government ownership or operation?
14. Enumerate the kinds of groups which carry on semi-public business.
15. Compare a co-operative with a corporation.
16. What kinds of co-operative associations are most numerous in the United States?
17. How does co-operative purchasing help to educate consumers?

CLASS DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. List the factors which make for efficiency of production under state socialism. Those which make for inefficiency.

2. Why is fascism said to be an attempt to freeze the *status quo*?
3. Report on how the yardstick method is used in Sweden. The most useful reference is *Sweden, The Middle Way*, by Marquis Childs.
4. Referring to Mr. Hobson's list of industries in which government ownership tends to grow, show whether this is true in the United States.
5. Review the work being done by the Tennessee Valley Authority. How much of this work would have been accomplished if left to private enterprise?
6. Does munitions making seem a proper field for complete government ownership? Explain your position.
7. What advantages are claimed for government operation of the railroads? Disadvantages?
8. Would you recommend the incorporation of the post office? Why or why not?
9. Investigate the extent of government ownership in some German city. Cologne, said to be the best-governed city in Europe, would be a good one to study.
10. Report on the co-operative movement in Great Britain, indicating its humble beginnings and its present enormous size.
11. Investigate the extent of the co-operative movement in your state. If there is a co-operative buying club or store in your vicinity, invite one of its officers to address the class.
12. Find out how to form a co-operative buying club, in case there is none in your community. The Bureau of Labor has an excellent bulletin on this subject which should be in your school library.
13. Find out what a co-operative credit union is, and how to form one. Write for information on this to the Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D.C.
14. Send to Co-operative Distributors, Inc., 116 E. 16th St., New York City, for a catalog describing their products and a circular on their work. This is a mail order co-operative.
15. Review *A Door of Opportunity: An American Adventure of Co-operation with Sharecroppers*. (15 cents, from Association Press, 347 Madison Ave., New York City.)

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